

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY



891.05 J.B.R.S.

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, Galcutta

Price

Rs. 20

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGIGAL LIBRARY, NEW DELHI. Acc. No. 25000

ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO CONTRIBUTORS.

		PAGE
1.	Banerji-Sastri, A., M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)—	
	Vedic Opasa and Kaparda	1-3
	A study of ancient Indian Numismatics by Surendra Kishore Chakrabortty, M.A. (Review by)	100-101
	Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization by Sir John Marshall. (Review by)	235—239
2.	Banerji, late Prof. R. D., M.A.—	
	Note on the Puri Plate of Dharmaraja	383-385
. 19	The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja, V.S. 800	387-390
3.	Chatterji, Nandalal, Esq.—	
	Mir Qāsim at Patna, 1761	332352
4.	Ganguly, D. C., M.A., Ph.D. (London)—	
	The Paramâras of Bhinmal	40-44
5.	James, The Hon'ble Justice J. F. W., M.A.—	
	The Vice-President—	
	The Skirt of Nanda Devi 117—128	, 255—271
6.	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A. (Oxon.)—	
	Giridharpur Pillar Inscription	4-6
	Šaka-Sātavāhana Problems	7—16
	Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor	17-36
	The Book on Political Science by Sikhara Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II	37—39
	Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vīr Varshal'	79
	A Note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms	97-98
	The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension—critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.). (Review by)	99
	Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivāsī ('India and Her Inhabitants') by Jaya Chandra Vidyālaṅkāra.	
	(Review by)	99
	History of Orissa, from the earliest times to the British Period. By R. D. Banerji, M.A. (Review	
	by)	101—103
	The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the last Kushāṇa Emperor in India	201-206
	A passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta coinage	207-211
	The Kākas—their Location	212-213
	A Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'	225
	Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Śāstri, C.I.E. (b. 6th December, 1852—d. 17th November, 1931)	226—234
	'Danta', a weapon	391

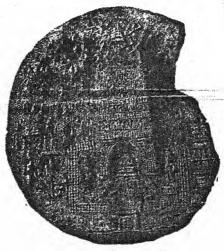
		Ghāgh aur Bhaḍḍari, edited with translation in	PAGE
		Modern Hindi, by Pandit Ramanaresa Tripāthi	
		' (Review by)	393
		Kavi-rahasya, by Dr. Ganganath Jha. (Review by)	393
		Arab-aur-Bhārata ke Sambandha, translation of an Urdu Book, by Syed Sulaimān Nadbi. (Review by)	393
		Social and Economic condition of mediaval India, by Mr. A. A. Yusuf Ali (translated in Hindi). (Review by)	394
		Madhya-Kālīna Bhāratiya Samskriti, by MM. Gauri Śankara Hīrā Chand Ojhā. (Review by)	394
		Veli Krishna-Rukamani-ri, by Prathirāja Rāthaur, translated in Modern Hindi, by Maharajah Jagmangal Singh, with a commentary. (Review by)	394
		Rock-cut Temples around Bombay, by Mr. Kanhaiya Lal H. Vakil, B.A., LLB., Published by Tara- porevala, Sons & Co. (Review by)	395
		Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology for the year 1930 (Kern Institute, Leyden). (Review by)	395
		The Mahābhārata Text, Fasc. 6, edited by Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. (Review by)	396
		Rise of the Christian Power in India, 2nd edition, by the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., published by Mr. R. Chatterji, Calcutta. (Review by)	396
		Jainism in North India, by Chiman Lal J. Shah, M.A., published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. (Review by)	397
		The Pallava Genealogy, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Bombay, Indian Historical Institute. (Review by)	398
	7.	Kuraishi, M. Hamid, B.A.—	
		A note on 'Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna'	4550
£ 5	8.	Patnaik, Sudhakar, B.A.—	
1/2		An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District	214-221
1	9.	Ramadas, G., B.A.—	
		Note on Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District	222-224
		Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu- Kāvārnnadeva, dated 526 Ganga Era	272-295
	10.	Roy, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.—	
		Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31: Chōtā- Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyas and the Bhūiyās	51—78
		The Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India	353—381
	11.	Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, Kt.—	
		A Correct Chronology of the Delhi History, 1739-	80—96
	12.	이번 10 글로운 그리 그리는 어디에 다른 사람들은 그는 그 그리는 것이 되었다.	33 00
		On the Extent of Heree's Empire	906 991

THE JOURNAL OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

25660

Vol. XVII



1931

311.05 3.6.8.5.

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orlssa Research Society

Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutte

Price

Rs. 20

ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO ARTICLES.

		PAGE
	Anthropological Work in 1930-31, Report of: Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyās and the Bhūiyās. By-Rai Bahadur Sarat	
	Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C	5178
	Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	1736
	Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vīr Varshal'. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	79
	Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārnna- deva, dated 526 Ganga Era. By G. Ramadas, B.A.	272-295
	Correct Chronology of the Delhi History, 1739-1754. By Sir Jadunath Sirkar, Kt.	80—96
		391
	'Danta', a weapon. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	391
	Folk-lore and Tradition in India, the Study of. By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C	353—381
	Giridharpur Pillar Inscription. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	46
	Haraprashad Shastri, Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr., C.I.E. (b. 6th December, 1852—d. 17th November, 1931). By	
	K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	226-234
	Harsa's Empire, on the extent of. By Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (London)	296331
	Kākas—their Location. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	212-213
٧	Mimāmsā-Śāstra-Sarvasva. By Halūyudha, Edited by Umesa Misra	129—200
	Mir Qāsim at Patna, 1761. By Nandalal Chatterji, Lecturer	120
	in Indian History, University of Lucknow	332352
	Nanda Devi, the Skirts of. By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., the Vice-President 117—128,	255—271
	Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna, a note on. By M. Hamid Kuraishi, Esq., B.A.	4550
	Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District. By Sudhakar	214-221
	Patnaik, B.A. Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District, a note on.	214-241
	By G. Ramadas, B.A	222—224
	Paramâras, the, of Bhinmal. By D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (London)	40-44
	Political Science by Sikhara Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II, the Book on. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	37—39
	Puri Plates of Dharmarāja, Note on. By the late Prof. R. D. Bañerji, M.A.	383—385
	Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.	
	(Oxon.)	7-16
	Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coin-	1.3
	age, a Passage in. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	207—211

	PAGE
Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms, a note on certain. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	97-98
Tekkali Plates of Šatrubhañja—V.S. 800. By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A	387—390
'Tikina' and 'Khasa', a note on. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	225
Vedic Opasa and Kaparda. By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)	1-3
Yaunas of the Purānas and the Last Kushāna Emperor in India. By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)	201-206

INDEX TO PLATES.

Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda—One plate. Between pages 2-3.

Giridharpur Pillar Inscription of the year 28th Huvishka's reign—One plate. Between pages 6-7.

Inscription on Pathar-kī-masjid at Patna—One plate. Between pages 50-51.

Skirts of Nanda Devi—Four plates and One map. Between pages 128-129.

An Oriya Copperplate of Sambalpur District—One plate. Between pages 220-221.

Skirts of Nanda Devi—One plate. Facing page 255. Two plates. Between pages 262-263. One plate. Facing page 265. One plate. Facing page 270.

Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārnnadeva, dated 526 Ganga Era—Four plates. Between pages 294-295.

The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja—Four plates. Between pages 390-391.

LIST OF PLATES.

Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda.

Giridharpur Pillar Inscription of the year 28th Huvishka's reign.

Inscription on Pathar-kī-masjid at Patna.

Skirts of Nanda Devi.

An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District.

Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārnṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga Era.

The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

MARCH, 1932.

CONTENTS.

	Leading Articles.	7
		PAGES
I.	Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda	1–3
	By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.	
	(Oxon.).	
II.	Girdharpur Pillar Inscription	4-6
	By K. P. Jayaswal.	
III.	Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems	7-16
	By K. P. Jayaswal.	
IV.	Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his	
	Predecessor	17-36
	By K. P. Jayaswal.	
v.	The Book on Political Science by Śīkhara,	
	Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II	37-39
	By K. P. Jayaswal.	
VI.	The Paramâras of Bhinmal	40-44
	By D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (London).	
VII.	A Note on 'Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna'	45-50
	By M. Hamid Kuraishi, Esq., B.A., Archæo-	
	logical Survey of India.	
III.	Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31:	
	Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyās and the	
	Bhũiyās	51-78
	By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.,	
	$B_{\bullet}L_{\bullet}$, $M_{\bullet}L_{\bullet}C_{\bullet}$	

CONTENTS.

Miscellaneous Contributions.	PAGES
I. Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vîr Varshal'	79
By K. P. Jayaswal. II. A Correct Chronology of the Delhi History, 1739-1754	80-96
By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt. III. A Note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms	97–98
By K. P. Jayaswal. Reviews and Notices of Books.	
I. The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension— critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.)	99
II. Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivasi ('India and Her Inhabitants') by Jayachandra Vidyā- lankāra	99
By K. P. Jayaswal. III. A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics. By Surendra Kishor Chakrabortty, M.A. By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.	100-101
(Oxon.). IV. History of Orissa. From the earliest times to the British Period. By R. D. Banerji M.A.	•
$By\ K.\ P.\ Jayaswal.$ Notes of the Quarter.	
Proceedings of meetings of the Council of the Biha and Orissa Research Society, held on December	. 104–107
on the 17th March, 1932	. 110–112
Customent of Accounts from April, 1901,	
Alphabets	118

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XVIII.]

1932.

PART I.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.-Vedic Opaśa and Kaparda.

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).

Rgveda X. 85, 8; and X. 114, 3 refer to *Opaśa* and *Kaparda*, as types of head-dresses, specially for females. The goddesses Sinīvālī is described as *svaupaśā* in Tait. Sam. iv. 1, 5, 3; Maitr. Sam. ii. 7, 5; Vāj. Sam. xi. 56:—

Sinīvālī sukapardā sukurīrā saupašā (iv. i, 5, 3 Tait. Sam.) Av. ix. 3, 8 (under akṣu) and Rv. x. 173, 6; viii. 14, 5; and ix. 71, 1 also refer to opaśa. It continues in later literature in Tāṇḍ. Br. iv. 1, 1; and xiii, 4, 3.

The generally accepted sense is 'having ornamental plaits or braids of hair', either genuine or false, mostly worn by women but sometimes by men also.

Kaparda also refers to the same Vedic custom of wearing the hair in braids or plaits. In the passage quoted above the goddesses Sinīvālī is described as sukapardā, 'wearing beautiful braids'. The maiden's fastidiousness for her braids are referred to in Rv. x. 114, 3 catus-kapardā, 'arranged in four plaits'. Men showed their appreciation by imitation, e.g., Rudra (Rv. i. 114, 1, 5; Vāj. Sam. xvi. 10, 29, 43, 48, 59), and

¹ Macdonell & Keith, Ved. Index, vol. i, p. 135.

² Zimmer, Alt. Leb., p. 264.

³ Av. vi. 138, 1, 2.

⁴ Rv. i. 173, 6.

Pūṣan (Rv. vi. 55, 2; ix. 67, 11). Mortals followed; the Vasisthas were their plait on the right, dakṣiṇatas-kaparda (Rv. vii. 33, 1). Lesser men affect it still, only modestly modified in its passage from classical sages to vernacular sadhus.

Kumba (Av. vi. 138, 3), and $Kur\bar{\imath}ra$ (Rv. x. 85, 8; Av. vi. 138, 3; cf. the description of Sinīvālī above as $su-kur\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}$) are other methods of doing the hair.¹

As might have been expected, subjective interpretation without any objective archæological evidence, strayed from the matter-of-fact into the region of fancy. Geldner 2 would have it as 'horn', later a head-gear; hardly an ornament that! Indian tradition 3 firmly held to the head-dress, 'a female adornment connected with the dressing of the hair'.

As often happens, Indian tradition is once more borne out by archæological discoveries, this time in the remains of a prehistoric civilization in the Gangetic valley, at Buxar.⁴

The accompanying plate reproduces only some of the terra-cotta head-dresses excavated by the present writer at Buxar, in 1926 and 1927. They are now in the Patna Museum. While their exact date as well as the date of the remains of the Indus valley, and of the Rgveda itself, are still subjects of further study, these Buxar finds are beyond doubt the nearest available material for comparison with the Vedic description noted above.

The Vedic passages have been variously interpreted as—Geldner: ⁵ 'horn-shaped head-ornament, or diadem'; Caland ⁶: 'helmet-shaped', etc.

The Indian commentators are impressed by their extraordinary (asādhāraṇam) prettiness, and often try to describe the details.

The Buxar head-dresses are very elaborate. Two kinds, either of attached stamped rosettes or developed into two high smooth horns like volutes are specially noteworthy.

¹ Plain hair was termed pulasti, Vāj. Sam. xvi. 43.

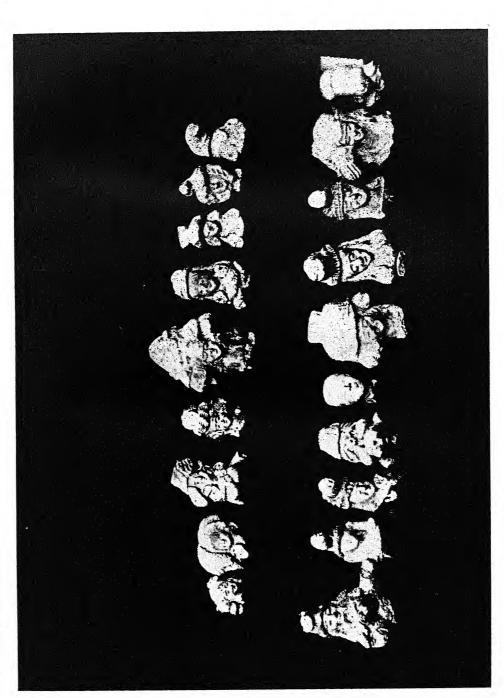
² Geldner, Vedische Studien, 1, 131-32.

³ Sāyaņa on Av. vi. 138, 3. kurīram keśajālam kumbam tadābharanam cha strīnām asādhāranam.

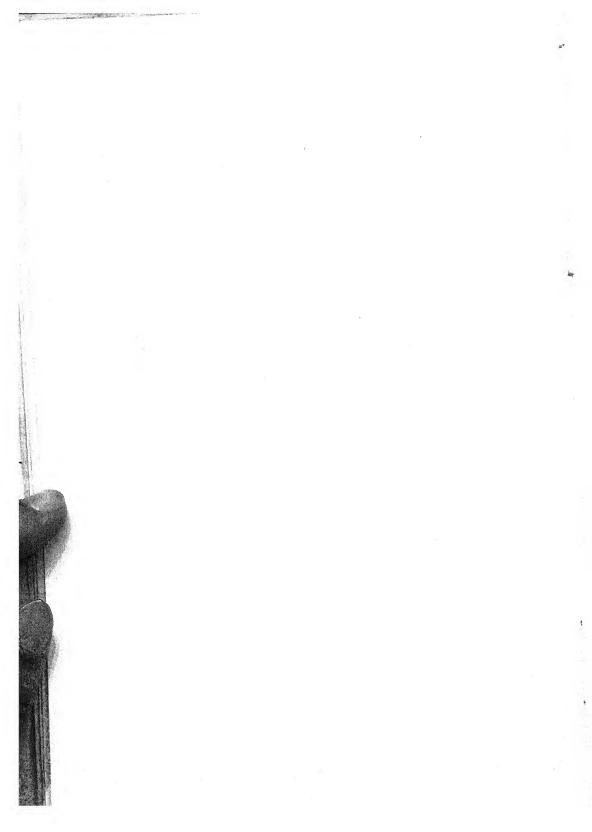
⁴ J. Bomb. Hist. S., III, pp. 187-91.

⁵ Ved. Stud., 1, 130-37.

⁶ Ap. Śraut., 10. 9. 5.



Vedie Opasa and Kaparda.



A closer study of this ample material may identify many of the features that struck the Vedic seers as asādhāraṇa, i.e., 'extraordinary'. It would incidentally raise and perhaps to a certain extent elucidate the question of the identity of the wearers.

II.—Girdharpur Pillar Inscription.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

This record is of King Huvishka's reign. It is dated in Kanishka's era, year 28th. Huvishka's predecessor Vāseshka ruled, according to the inscriptions already known to us, upto a part of the 28th year. This is thus a document of Huvishka's first year. The inscription which has not been published before I am reproducing here. This is the first record we know that gives the coin-name purana which we know from the Manava dharma Śāstra (J.B.O.R.S., XVII, 398). It was brought to light in the following manner. Last October when I was going over the Curzon Museum (Muttra), its curator Mr. Vasudeva Agrawala pointed out the pillar to me and showed me his reading of the inscription. I suggested to him to trace the history of the Mr. Agrawala has since ascertained its history and communicated it to me which I give below. The date, which I read on the stone, the mention of the purana and of the official title Tikana which occurs as Tikina in the Nalanda plate recently edited and published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, E.I., (Vol. XX, p. 37), invest the document with importance.

I thank Mr. Agrawala for the impression and the description which I quote below.

"The pillar originated from a well called Lāl Kunwā situated in a field lying between the Chaurāsī Jain temple and the Girdharpur Mound in the Mathurā district. The well is 200 yards due south of the Gobardhan Road, opposite the Chaurāsī Jain temple. It is said that it was extracted from the well eight or nine years ago and was lying on the surface from that time till its deposit in the Mathurā Museum through the efforts of the late Rai Bahadur Pandit Radhakrishna.

"The dimensions are:—Height 6'-9", breadth 11'-8" at base and 11'-5" at a height of 2'-7" from the base; upto that height the pillar is square and beyond that it is octagonal, and thickness 9 inches. There is a groove, 6 inches broad and 4 inches deep, running from top to bottom on the reverse of the inscribed

facing. The pillar which is of red sand-stone common at Mathurā is in a fair state of preservation except the upper portion which is broken and lost."

The script is Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa period and the engraving of letters is perfect. The entire inscription is a model of excellent paleographic art of the period. "It is perfectly preserved except for a small chipping off, $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ in the beginning of the last two lines. The characters vary in size from $\frac{1}{2}''$ to 1"." They resemble very much the characters on the pedestal of the Vema Takshama statue of the Mathurā Museum (J.B.O.R.S., VI, p. 11).

In the opinion of Mr. Agrawala, the present inscription and the lettering on the pedestal of the seated Buddha No. A 1 of the Museum, are the best specimens of Kushāṇa Brāhmī preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The writing covers a space of 14:5" by 11:5".

The inscription records a perpetual gift (ākshaya-nivi dinna) for the benefit (puṇya) of Devaputra Shāhi (king) Huvishka and those dear to him and the whole land. It was evidently inscribed at the Punyaśālā (Charitable Pavilion) which it mentions. 550 and 550 (1,100) purāṇas were deposited with two guilds, and from the monthly interest (vriddhi) of the funds daily alms (like modern sadābart) were to be given in the form of sattu (saktu), salt and similar eatables, placed at the door of the Punyaśālā, to the helpless (anādhanām), hungry and thirsty; and once a month (on the 14th Bright day of the month) one hundred Brahmins were also to be fed.

The value of the purana was sufficiently high to give an income to feed hundred Brahmins every month and to maintain a place to give water and a little sattu to the poor passing by throughout the year. It is noteworthy that this gift is in favour of Brahmins and the general public, and is not a Buddhist endowment.

The officer signing and executing the gift was a nobleman, Tikana Prāchī, who was son of Rukamāna. Tikana is a Turki title denoting a 'prince of the blood' (E. I., Vol. XX, p. 41 where it is spelt as Tikina). The officer bears the description 'Vakana-pati' which is also found affixed (as Barkanapati) to the

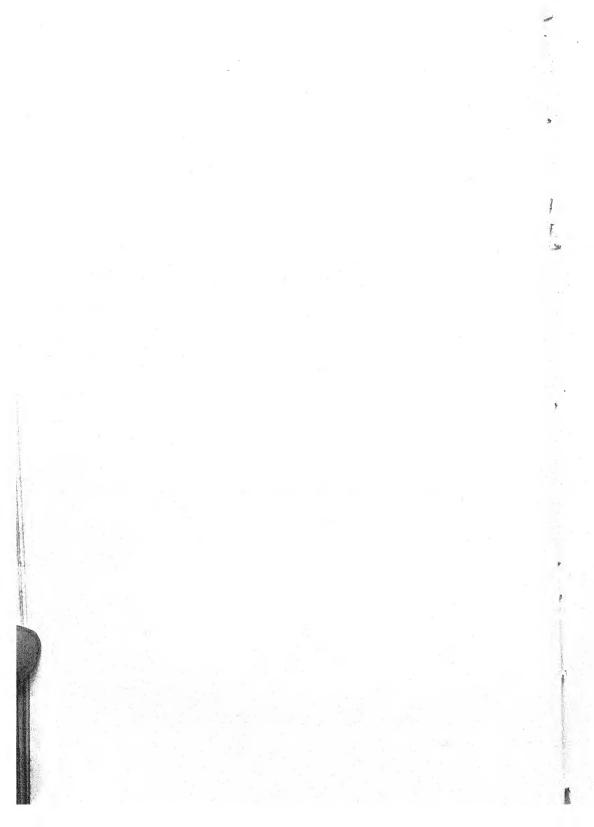
name of the officer mentioned on the statue of Vema or Vama (J.B.O.R.S., VI, p. 12). The officer (evidently the Governor of Mathurā) is also called *Kharāsalera-pati*. It seems that the Puṇyaśālā (which was like a modern Dharmaśālā) was erected by Prāchī-Tīkana (ayam puṇyaśālā Prāchī-Tīkanasya). It was endowed for maintenance, in the name of his Sovereign, in the first year of his reign, evidently marking his accession after the fashion of Hindu Kings.

I give below Mr. Agrawala's reading of the text who has had the advantage of consulting the stone.

TEXT

- Line 1 सिद्धं > संवत्सरे २० = गुर्यापय दिवसे १ अयं प्रस्थ
 - 1. 2 भाला प्राचितीकनस रकमानपुत्रेण खरासले
 - 1. 3 र पतिन वक्तनपतिना अन्तयनीवि दिन्न गुतो रुद्धे
 - l. 4 तो मासानुमासं शुद्धख चातु दिश्रे पुरायाणा
 - l. 5 यं ब्राह्मणश्रतं परिविधितव्यं दिवसे दिवसे
 - l. 6 च पुरायाचाचे दारमूले धारिचे साद्यं सक्तानां आ
 - I. 7 ठका ३ लव्या प्रस्था १ प्राक्त प्रस्था १ इंश्तिकलायक
 - 1. 8 घटका ३ मह्मका ५ एतं व्यनाधनां ऋतेन दतव्य
 - 1. 9 बभित्तान पिबसितानं य च तु पुरुष तं देवपुत्रस्थ
 - 1. 10 माहिस्य इतिब्बस्य येषा च देवपुत्रो प्रियः तेषामपि पुरुष
 - 1. 11 भवतु सर्वाय च प्रथिवीये पुग्छ भवतु खान्त्यनिवि दिन्न
 - 1. 12 ... क श्रेगीय पुराग्रास्त ५०० ५० समितकर श्रेगी
 - I. 13 ... प्रायाम् त प्०० प्०

Girdharpur Pillar inscription of the year 28th, Huvishka's reign.



III.-Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

On the publications of my paper 'Problems of Śaka-Sātavā-hana History' (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 227 ff.) some gentlemen have written to me asking for my view on the identification of the Sandanes and Mambarus of the Periplus (§ 52, § 41). I submit below my own opinion for consideration by scholars.

(i) Sandanes.

This name has been identified with Sundara (Śātakarņi) (Sātavāhana) of the Purāṇas. To me it appears to represent Sunandana of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Prakrit form Sunadana seems to be Sandanes. Other Purāṇas give Sundara in its place, which might have been another name of the same king. I would give preference to the form as found in the Bhāgavata. A manuscript of the Brahmānḍa Purāna from Orissa which I have consulted gives the form Sunanda.

Writing about the port Kalyāṇa (near Bombay) the author of the Periplus says that this city of Saraganus became in the time of the elder Saraganus a lawful market town,

'but since it came into the possession of Sandanes the port is much obstructed and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard'.—(Schoff's translation).

Saraganus is, as already pointed by scholars, Sātakarņi. The form is derived from Sādakanna. It is evident that before the time of the author of the Periplus there had been at least two Sātakarņis—'the elder' Śātakarṇi and the later Sātakarṇi, that both these sovereigns had passed away before the Periplus was written, and that the present king or the recent king was Sandanes. These were kings of Dakshiṇāpatha or Dachinabades in the language of the Periplus. ('Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south and so this region is called Dachinabades' (£ 50). It may be noticed in passing that the Periplus is using all Prakrit forms

(Barygaza=Bharu-kachcha, not Bhrigu-kachcha; Dachinabades= Dachhināvadha for ° patha).

Mr. Schoff considers the date of the Periplus to be about 80 A.D. (Letter to V. Smith, Early History, 4th ed., p. 245 n.). The date worked out on the basis of my chronology for Sundara or Sunandana comes to be 83-84 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 279) which agrees with the date proposed by Schoff and also by McCrindle (80-89 A.D.). The Purāṇas give only one year to Sunandana-Sundara, which narrows down the time for the date of the Periplus data; had there been a longer period of the reign (we get no coin of this king) we would have had a larger margin for uncertainty.

Now the reference in the Periplus does not show (as supposed by some scholars) that a rival of Sandanes was interfering with Greek shipping in the matter of discharging goods at Kalyāna. On the contrary the emphasis being on the fact that the port having been declared a 'lawful' landing place since the time of the elder Sātakarni, the complaint seems to be that Sandanes was unjustly closing it to the Greeks by his officers' occasional diversion of the ships to the other port, evidently his own, viz., Barygaza. The interpretation put on this—as an obstruction by an enemy-seems to be unjustifiable on the text. The elder Sātakarni was evidently Gautamiputra Sātakarni who had conquered Nahapāna and obtained the coast from Bombay to Kathiawad, in or about 58 B.C. The later Saraganus would be Kuntala or Vishamasıla Satakarni, the conqueror of the Sakas and the predecessor of Sunandana. The author of the Periplus must be talking of only recent history, that is, the history of the port just preceding Sunandana's time. In this connexion it is noteworthy that Ujjain is noted in the Periplus (§ 48) to have been formerly the royal capital. This agrees with the known fact that the Kuntala Sātakarni or Vikramāditya (II) had fixed his capital at Ujjain.

(ii) Mambarus.

This name has been changed ('corrected') into Nambarus by some scholars and then it has been interpreted as Nahapāna. But Mambarus can hardly be Nahapāna and subsequent

scholars have rightly challenged the interpretation. The Periplus (\$\xi\$41) says that from \$Ariaca\$ (the Aryan land) the kingdom of Mambarus commenced. It is noteworthy that according to the Periplus (\$\xi\$50) Dakshināpatha ran down (south) from Barygaza. Both Bharoach and Kalyāṇa thus evidently belonged to the same kingdom.

The only known king whose name can be reconciled with Mambarus is Mahendra 1 Sātavāhana. He came just before Kuntala Śātakarni whose date I have calculated to be 75 A.D. to 83 A.D., i.e., about 8 years before Sunandana-Sundara (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 279). The author of the Periplus seems to have heard that the kingdom founded by Mahendra (d. 75 A.D.) extended up to Kathiawad and Gujarat. Ariake is supposed to represent Larika (Lāta) of Ptolemy, but Ptolemy also uses Ariake though in his time it commenced lower down, Gujarat then being under the Śakas. Ariaka evidently means the country under the Hindus (Aryans) as opposed to Sindh which was occupied at the date of the Periplus by the Śakas. Ariaka may be compared with the 'Āryavarta' of Alberuni (see below). 'All India' began there according to the Periplus, that is, Āryāvarta began there.

(iii) The Battle of 78 A.D.

The battle which is dated in 78 A.D. by the Hindus and which ended in the defeat of the Śakas by Vishama-Śīla Vikramāditya or Vikramāditya II was supposed by me to have been fought in Gujarat on the data of the Kathāsaritsāgara (J.B.O.R.S., XVI. 299). In this connexion, I had missed a very important authority which supplies the name of the battle-field and fully confirms the conclusion put forward by me about this battle of 78 A.D., and on the identification of this second Vikramāditya with the Sātavāhana king, and the causes of the war. Alberuni (II. 6) writing about the Śaka era says:

¹ This will require corruption of the spelling of one letter only. In Greek MSS, of the first century A.D. *Maendara* could easily be misread as *Mambara*. [I have consulted Father Heras who confirms this.]

'The epoch of the era of Saka or Saka-kāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramaditya. The here-mentioned Saka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Āryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Sakas. Some maintain that he was a Sūdra from the city Al Mansura; others maintain that he was not a Hindu at all, and that he had come to India from the west. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramaditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karûr, between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. They honour the conqueror by adding Srî to his name, so as to say Srî Vikramāditya. Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Šaka, we think that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Saka, but only a namesake of his.'

Here it is evident that Alberuni is treating of the Śaka-Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D. and the Śalivāhana king is referred to as Vikramāditya II. The battle-field was at Karūr (Karor or Karorh, 20 miles north-east of Bahawalpur). The Śaka tyranny was described as it is described in the Kathāsaritsāgara. Al Mansura of Alberuni was a town in Sihdh¹; here evidently the Śakas had settled. Alberuni rightly distinguishes this Vikramāditya of 78 A.D. from the Vikramāditya of 58 B.C., i.e., Vikramāditya I.

Is there any material from which we can find the name of the Śaka king defeated and killed by Śālivāhana (the Śātavāhana king) ?

Sir Kap and Amba Kapi Tradition.

General Cunningham has recorded the tradition current all over the Punjab about $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ Sir Kap (ASR; ii, 152–156; AG,, p. 139). The tradition is still current. The version which I have heard only differs in that Sir Kapa or Sir Kap and his brothers were destroyed by Śālivāhana, while Cunningham heard that the deliverer was $R\bar{a}s\bar{a}lu$ (Rusālu in the version supplied to Col. Abbot), son of King Śālivāhana. Col. Abbot has recorded the ballad of Rusālu (JASB, 1854, p. 123). The tradition may be summarised as follows:

Sir Kap—who is associated with a site Ambā-Kapi near Lahor as his residence was a great tyrant. Sir Kap with his six brothers and sisters (according to one version, demons, Rakshasas, according to another, human beings) lived at Manikpur (Manikyālā) Udinagar or Ambā Kapi—was decapitating the people. Śālivāhana or his son Rājā Rāsālu or Rusālu destroyed them and 'delivered the people from the tyranny of Sir Kap'. The brothers were Sir Kap, Sir Sukh and Amba, while the sisters were Kāpi Kalpi, Munda, Mandehi.

The tradition means that between the Indus and the Jhelam Sir Kap and his brothers were established as rulers and they were great tyrants. Sir Kap is no other than Siri Kapa or Kadphises and Amba represents W'ima or Wama; the titles have been converted into 'Sisters'-Kāpi, Kalpi (=Kadphises), Munda (= Murunda). Sir Sukh, the brother of W'ima might be the uncle of Jihonika whose name we have not yet got from inscriptions or coins. The legend refers to the generation of Wima Kadphises. Archæologists have already pointed out that after W'ima Kadphises there was a break-up of the Kushāņa empire, just before Kanishka, in the time of Jihonika's father or uncle (Konow, Kh. I., p. 82). It seems that the war of Śālivāhana which according to Alberuni was fought in the Punjab at Karhor, was in the last days of Wima or the first year of one of his brothers whose rule ended in the very year owing to his death on the battle-field. The defeat was not the defeat of Kanishka but of his immediate predecessor. Kanishka seems to have changed his policy and started his first year as a pious Buddhist, and a law-abiding, kind king, following the example of the Buddhist Asoka, and this policy would have reconciled the Punjab to him.

It may be noted that Rusālu means 'Bad Tempered' which is a translation of Vishama-śīla. In any case the indication is certain in the express dynastic title Śālivāhana, which fixes the identity with the Śālavāhana Vikramāditya (II) of Alberuni.

In the result, the tradition of the astronomers, the tradition current in the time of Alberuni, the tradition current in the Punjab to-day, the data of the Kathāsaritsāgara, the known history supplied by spade and inscriptions—all indicate that

there was a disruption of the Kushāṇa power at or towards the end of the reign of Wima Kadphises. The tradition of the defeat of the Śakas at 78 A.D., by a Śālivāhana (=Sātavāhana) king is rigidly historical. The tyranny of the early Kushāṇas which passed into folk-lore was real, and there was most likely a national rising, though the help and leadership came from the 'east' in the person of 'Rusālu' Śālivāhana Vikramāditya. Except the Sātavāhana power there was none else in the east, i.e., in inner India at the time capable of that feat of deliverance.

In the next thirty years the Kushāṇa empire under Kanishka and Vāseshka was re-established, though this time on a different moral basis. About a century later (250 A.D.) a number of strong Hindu dynasties arose again, but the final extinction of the Śakas was left for Chandragupta II to achieve, who after his success called himself 'Vikramāditya', and for a third time the title was assumed to commemorate a national victory over the Śakas.

(iv) An Arab authority on the cessation of Kadphises' rule.

For future reference, it is desirable to record another version of the destruction of the rule of the Kadphises, as it is confirmed by an Arab source which is in its turn based on an unknown Sanskrit work.

Mr. Jayachandra Vidyālankāra whose home is near Karorh (ৰেণ্ড্ৰ), the Karûr of Alberuni, in the Montgomery District of the Punjab, writes to me that the version of the tradition as given to him by an old villager is that Śālavāhana defeated Rājā Sir-Kap Risālū (the latter being the proper-name). According to this version the Sir Kap king defeated was Risalu, not that the Śālavāhana King's name was Risālū-Rāsālu, or Rusālu. I would have dismissed this version, had it not been for the fact that it is supported by an Arab source which is earlier than Alberuni.

An author who wrote a 'chronological abridgment of universal history' up to the sixth Hijri Century under the name 'Mujmal-ut Tawārīkh' between the years 1126 and 1193 A.D. during the reign of Sanjar, Sultan of Saljukis, came across a dated Persian manuscript (1026 A.D.) in the handwriting of its Persian author. The name of the latter was Abul Hasan 'Ali,

keeper of a library at Jurjan. Abul Hasan 'Ali's manuscript was a Persian translation of a work of an Arab, Abū Sālih bin Shu'aib, who had translated it into Arabic from Sanskrit ('from the Hindwani language'). The book, thus, though through two translations done before 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.), was 'an ancient book of the Hindus'. The book also contained certain dialogues as in the Panchatantra. The Muhammadan author in his Mujmal quoted a few extracts on 'the origin of the kings and a short history of them' bearing on Sindh. These extracts have been translated into English in Elliot's History of India, vol. I, pp. 103-113 and are placed as the first piece amongst the 'Historians of Sind' (p. 100). Evidently the original Arab translator had before him some historical sketch in Sanskrit on the history of Sindh, and the materials may go back to the period of the time of the first Muhammadan invasion of Sindh. The Persian translation is literal of the Arabic original (Elliot, I, p. 102). According to the original authority the history of Sindh is divided in these periods:

- (i) under the Bhārata dynasty;
- (ii) under the Sunāgh, i.e., Śiśunāga dynasty, and the Persian rule;
- (iii) under Hāl, i.e., Sātavāhana dynasty and Kafand,
 i.e., Kadphises, and his son Ayand (Uvam);
- (iv) under Vikramāditya (Gupta).
 - (i) Rule of Jayadratha's Queen in Sindh.

In Sindh the Jats and Meds occupied the opposite sides of the Indus; the Meds having been conquered by the Jats and having been driven to the opposite bank, the two tribes approached Duryodhana (Dajūshan) 'son of Dahrāt' to appoint a king. 'The Emperor Dajūshan' nominated his sister Duśśalā ('Dassāl'), wife of King Jandrāt (Jayadratha).¹ ('The original work gives a long description of the country, its rivers and wonders and mentions the foundation of cities'.)

Different kings were appointed by the lady for the Jats and the Meds. The rule lasted over a number of years 'after which *Bhārats* lost possession of the country'.

¹ In Jandrat, y has been read n, an easy misreading in Persian.

'Injustice was the cause of the fall of the Pāndavas'. They had taken a cow of a Brahmin whose son captured $Hatn\bar{a}$ city, their capital, and he is said to have reduced the Pāndavas to the position of a musician caste, 'but God knows'.

(ii) Sunagh (Śiśunāka) Dynasty and the Persian Invasion of India.

A Brahmin named Fasaf crowned his servant Sunāgh on the throne who practised justice. His dynasty had 15 sovereigns. The latter were tyrants and were contemporary of the Persian king Gustāsf (i.e., Darius' father Hystaspes). Bahman (i.e., Darius) in Gustasf's lifetime led an army into India and occupied a portion of it, while numerous kingdoms were set up (by Indians) against the dynasty of Sunāgh. Bahman returned to Persia on the report of Gustasf's death and assumed the crown. [The author notes here that this Indian account of the Persian bit of history he did not find elsewhere.]

(iii) Hāl (i.e., Hāla Sātavāhana).

'It is said that $H\bar{a}l$ was the descendant of $Sanjw\bar{a}ra$, son of Jandrāt.' Hāl inherited in his empire the dominions of Jandrāt and Dassāl and their descendants. 'Hāl became a very important person and built a fine capital and several cities.'

Kashmirian rule in Sindh.

His country exported fine cloth with the stamp of the royal foot-print which led to a war with the king of Kashmir. The king of Kashmir returned to his country. The latter was a builder of temples and superb cities. Sindh evidently passed on to his rule: 'The Government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants... In the country of Sindh there were three kings, until at length the territories of the Hindus came under the authority of King Kafand', 'after he had by his valour subdued them'.

King Kafand (i.e., Kaphs, Kapa, Kadphises).

'This Kafand was not a Hindu.' 'He made fine speeches and praised all the Hindus and their country. He raised their

¹ The last king was Kūyāhurat. His relation was Bol, son of Pandu.

Sāmīd was his brother, who with the help and co-operation of 'Hāl, king of India', drove out the Persian fire-worshippers from Mansur (Sindh) and idol (Buddha) temples were set up where fire-temples stood. The fire-worshipper who was driven to Kiyātasa was Mahra (i.e., King Mazdai).² Ayand (i.e., Uvima, Vama) was the son of Kafand and he succeeded his father. He divided Sindh in four parts including the country which had been under Sāmīd (Sānīd). 'This was after Hāl.' He posted kings in each of the four provinces, one of which comprised part of Hindustan, Nadama and Lohana. After Ayand his son, Rāsal became king. 'He reigned for some time until one rose up against him and expelled him from the kingdom. (Elliot, p. 110.)

Now it seems that Kafand represents Kaphsa or Kapa of the coins and inscription, and Ayand, his successor 'Uvima' or Wema Kadphises. Rāsal was probably the unrecorded successor of Wema who is the man driven out by ('one') Sātavahana. Hāla who was a contemporary and helper of Kafand in driving out the Parthians (fire-worshippers of Persia), reigned about 17–21 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 279). Ayand (Wema) established sub-kingdoms, 'after the time of Hāl'; he flourished about 60 A.D. (J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 241). Rāsal, i.e. Ayand's son would have been expelled about 78 A.D.

Apparently Kafand who was not a Hindu started a good rule, conciliatory to the Hindus. He raised But (Buddha) temples. This datum from this unexpected source is welcome.

¹ The English translator changed the text, b'ād into ba'ahad. Elliot, I, p. 108, n. 4.

² Mahra-Mazdai. He was evidently the same as king Mazdai who executed St. Thomas. Here is another proof of the truth of story of St. Thomas' coming to Sindh and the Punjab. In MS. d has been confused with s, e.g. Barkamāris for Vikrmādit.

The *Rāsal* of this Sindh history is confirmatory of the version which makes Risālū as the king defeated by Śālavāhana as against the version which makes Rāsālu identical with the Śālivāhana conqueror.¹

The data about Sunāgh and synchronism with the Persian king and the Persian expedition in India are not less important. They show that there was a written record of it in India. The Śiśunāgas are considered as the second imperial family after the Bhāratas. The musician-caste story about the Bhāratas refers to Udayana. It is assumed that some Śiśunāgas were considered as suzerains of Sindh, and that the family of Jayadratha lasted for many generations in Sindh.² The connection of Hāla with Sindh is worthy of notice. After the Bhāratas and the Śiśunāgas the family of Hāla (the Sātavāhanas) is the imperial family according to this account. The driving out of the Parthians from Sindh and the neighbourhood by Kafand is confirmed by materials we already know. That Hāla helped Kafand in this is a new information.³

¹ The next extract is about Rawwāl and Barkamārîs. They are called sons of Rāsal, which only means that they came after Rāsal and were rulers in Sindh, as Hāl is called a successor of Jayadratha. It means that the Gupta is the next imperial rule after that of Kafand and his descendants. Rawwāl's (Rāmagupta's) brother was Barkarmārîs (Vikrāmadītya) who is described to have killed the enemy in the disguise of his brother's queen. (See my separate article on Chandra-Gupta II.)

² Cf. Wala Seal on the existence of the dynasty of Jayadratha in or near Kathiawād (IA., 38. 145).

³ Cf. Ferishta (Introduction, Elliot, VI. 547, 548, 555) on the reign of Kishan, his son Mahā Rāj (who 'with the assent of the chiefs of the tribe' ascended the throne), Kaid Rāj (who 'was nephew by the sister's side of Mahā Rāj, in accordance with whose will and testament he ascended the throne.' He built the fort of Jammu. There was a national rising and Kaid was made to evacuate the Punjab. Kaid reigned for 43 years). These are evidently Kushana, Mahārāja Kushana, and Kadphises of the archeologists.

IV.—Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

- (i) Corroboration of the Devi-Chandraguptam.
- § 1. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi was the first to discover two fragments of a lost drama called Devi-Chandraguptam 1 as cited by King Bhoja in his anthology Sringāraprakāśa. It was noted by Bhoja there that 'Chandra-Gupta, concealed in a female disguise, went to the enemy's camp—Alipuram—to kill the Śaka king'. स्तीवेष-निक्रतः चन्द्रगृप्तः श्वीः खत्थावारं चळिपुरं श्वपतिवधयागमत् Mr. Sarasvati 1 in that connexion cited the commentary of Sankara: श्कानासाचार्यः श्काधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभावजायां अवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन भ्रवदेवी-वेषभारिका स्त्रीवेषजनपरिष्टतेन रहिंस यापादितः on the well-known passage of Bana (Harshacharita: खरिपुरे च परकलवकामुकं कामिनी-वेग्रग्रस्न्द्रग्नः एकपतिमग्रातयत्), but he dismissed it as a 'mistake in the statement of the commentator.' Professor Lévi, soon after,2 published six passages of the Devi-Chandraguptam from a manuscript of the Nāṭyadarpaṇa sent to him by a Jaina Sādhu at Sivapurī, Śrī Vijayadharma Sūri, which established the statement of Sankara that at the time of the Gupta attack on the Saka king Dhruvadevī was the queen of his elder brother. The name of this latter king, which had been unknown before, was brought to light as Rāma-Gupta 3, as well as the name of the author (Viśākhadatta) whom we already knew as the author of the classical But Lévi declared the statement drama Mudrā-Rākshasa. implied in the Devi-Chandragupta of Viśākhadatta 'to be far from historical reality 'in respect of Rāma-Gupta being the elder brother of Chandra-Gupta and Dhruvadevī being Rāma-Gupta's wife. The ground for his doing so, evidently, was that the lady is referred to in the official inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty as the wife of Chandra-Gupta II and that it is also stated there

¹ I.A., July, 1923, pp. 182-183.

² Journal Asiatique, Oct.-Decr., 1923, pp. 201-6.

³ The names of the Gupta kings are to be spelt with a capital G. Only the first part is the name. See § 18, below.

that Chandra-Gupta had been selected by his father Samudra-Gupta as his successor; there was, therefore, no room for a Rāma-Gupta to come in between Samudra-Gupta and Chandra-Gupta. I should say here that the same must have been the first impression with most of the students of Indian history. It is difficult for one familiar with the Gupta official documents to accept the Devi-Chandraguptam for the existence of the unfamiliar Rāma-Gupta and his wife. But the fact seems to be otherwise.

- § 2. The late Professor R. D. Banerji, in his Nundy Lectures (November, 1924) postulated the thesis that Rāma-Gupta is to be regarded as the immediate predecessor of Chandra-Gupta II. Since then Professor Altekar in two papers 2 has placed before us (1) a verse from the Sanjan plate, (2) a passage from the Kāvyamīmāmsā of Rājasekhara, and (3) a passage from a Muhammadan historian on Rawwāl and Barkamārîs 3, identifying Barkamārîs with Chandra-Gupta II Vikramāditya.³ I may say at once that the identification is a solid contribution as we shall see presently.
- § 3. The Sanjan plate of Amoghavarsha, which is the earliest (873 A.D.) 4 of his data, says that the great charitable donor-king of the Gupta dynasty who had caused to be recorded gifts of one hundred thousand crores 5 was a poor being (in virtue, as compared with Amoghavarsha), for he took the kingdom of his brother and his queen. The verse cited by Rājasekhara (C. 900 A.D.) confirms the story as we shall see below. And so does the Muhammadan version which is cer-

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 223.

² J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 223; XV, 138.

³ Elliot, i, 110. Both a and i vowels are to be supplied in Persian script. Thus reading 'Birkamā', we have, further, to take rîs as a mere MS. misreading for dit which is an easy misreading in that script. Mr. Altekar's identification is, however, based on the text of the story.

⁴ E.I., XVIII, 248 (verse 48).

⁵ This is the meaning of lakshāni koṭimalekhaya(t), not as Dr. Bhandarkar takes it: 'thereafter the wretch caused her [i.e., the Queen] to write down one lac, one crore (in the document)'. The reference is to recording of gifts. Cf. what Yuan Chwang says of Vikramāditya's donations and recording thereof in State annals. (Watters, i. 211.)

tainly older than 1026 A.D. An Arab (Abū Sālih) translated a Hindu book and the translation was rendered from Arabic into Persian in 1026 A.D. from which the history of Barkamārīs is quoted by Abul Hasan 'Ali verbatim (1126–1193) [Elliot, i, 100 ff.]

- § 4. We have now evidence from a number of sources on the subject in a manner which is rather a rare combination in the field of Indian historical materials. We have
 - (1) Bāṇa (C. 620 A.D.),
 - (2) Amoghavarsha (873 A.D.),
 - (3) Rājašekhara (C. 900 A.D.),
 - (4) Bhoja (1018-60 A.D.),
 - (5) Abu-l Hasan 'Ali (1026 A.D.), and
 - (6) Śańkara (1713 A.D.).

We may hold at once with Professor Lévi that Śańkara had the original drama $Dev\overline{\imath}$ -Chandraguptam before him. Proof of the fact that the drama was extant till recently has come forward since Professor Lévi wrote: Mr. Kavi has written to me that he has recovered a manuscript of the drama Dev $\overline{\imath}$ -Chandraguptam itself but it is a fragment. There is no doubt that the fragmentary manuscript is of the same book which is cited by different authors and that its author was Višākhadatta.

- § 5. Out of the remaining authorities, (2) Amoghavarsha and (4) Bhoja occupy a semi-official position, and though we may dismiss Bhoja with the remark that his knowledge was very likely derived from the Devi-Chandraguptam itself, we certainly cannot say the same about (2), (3) and (5), and very likely also of (1). (2) Amoghavarsha records both the donation of the Gupta king (who can be no other than Chandra-Gupta II as rightly contended for by Professor Altekar) and implies the incident of the re-marriage of Dhruvadevī by Chandra-Gupta, and his succession after his brother.
- § 6. As to (3) Rājasekhara, he quotes the verse as an instance of an allusion to a historical fact and its implication (vritt=etivrittah kathotthah, p. 46, on Arthavyāpti, p. 42). It is certain that this verse does not come out of the Devi-Chandraguptam. This is addressed by some poet to some king and by implication shows that the addressee was greater than the great

Gupta emperor in respect of his deeds in the Himālaya where the Gupta king had left such a bad record.1 We have in this evidence an independent corroboration. And the evidence must go back at least to the ninth century, to be an authority well-known for citation without name. I may add here in passing that Sarma-Gupta is the result of an easy Nagarî misreading of Rama-Gupta (T having been read as M, with a subsequent correction required by the metre and the necessity to have a correct Sanskrit word). Similarly Khasa in Khasadhipataye is a transposed form of sakha (which was used for Saka, following the vernacular pronunciation).

§ 7. Like Rājaśekhara's authority, we have to regard Abu-1 Hasan 'Ali who merely made a literal translation of the Arabic original which in turn was a translation of a Hindu work. The original Arabic work would have belonged to the period of the Arab conquest of Sindh or thereabout, and has to be palced about 800 A.D. It should be noted that the Persian translator heads the subject as 'History of Rawwāl and Barkamārîs' and places it in chronological order, giving it last, after the imperial periods of the Bharatas, Śiśunāgas and the Persian rule, Hāla and Kadphises, the son of the latter, and then a break.² The passage does not know Chandra-Gupta but Vikramâditya, while the drama mentions 'Chandra-Gupta'. Vikramāditya is a later title assumed not at the stage where the Devi-Chandraguptam The datum ruddhagatih ('besieged') in Rājaśekhara's quotation is fully confirmed by Abu-1 Hasan 'Ali. Rāsal was the grandson of Kafand (i.e., Kadphises) and son of Ayand (i.e., Uvim, W'ma or Wema.)2 He was dispossessed and driven away before Rawwal's accession. Rasal's son (evidently, a descendant)

कथोत्य:-

दत्ता रुदगतिः खसाधिपये देवीं अवखामिनीं यस्मात् खिष्डतसाइसो निवटते त्री मर्म (corr. त्रीराम)-गुप्तो न्दपः। तिसन्नेव दिमाखये गुरगुदा-कोणकाणिकारे गीयने तव कार्तिकेयनगरस्तीयां गणः कीर्त्तयः॥

It is not addressed to Kumāra-Gupta as wrongly supposed by Professor Altekar. Kārtikeya goes with nagara. No poet would have mentioned so irreverently about Kumāra-Gupta's own mother to him.

¹ G.O.S., No. 1, p. 47:

² See my separate article on Śaka-Sātavāhana in this issue.

'led an army and put Rawwal to flight. Rawwal with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwal then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said-"Send me the girl [i.e., the newly married queen] and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers-then I will withdraw." Rawwal was dejected but he had a wazir, blind of both eyes, named Safar, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised them to give up the woman and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of children and wife and riches. They resolved upon this course but just at this juncture, Barkamaris came in, and after making his salutation, said, "I and the king are sons of the same father; if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something,-do not take my youth into consideration." So they informed him of the facts. He then said "It seems proper that I should take my life for the king: let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us each conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed; then send us to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, and they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army will thus be slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." Rawwal was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwal's power increased.'

THE ARAB NARRATION AND VIKRAMĀDITYA'S MANTRIN.

Now, there is internal evidence indicating that the narration is substantially true. It was at the request of his Wazir, i.e., Mantrin, that Rāma-Gupta¹ agreed. The name of the Prime Minister of Rawwāl and latterly of Barkamārīs is given (Safar) which is borne out by a document of the son of the Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II. The lingam now in the Lucknow Museum from Karamāḍāṇde (Fyzabad) dated G.E.

¹ Rawwāl is a Prakrit combination of Rāma and some other word like pāla. (It does not appear to be the same as Rāwal.)

117 (=436 A.D.) has the inscription that Prithivishena, Senior Minister in charge of the army (Mahābalādhikrita) under Kumāra-Gupta I, was the son of Śikhara-Svāmin, Mantrin and 'Prince-Minister', (Kumārāmatya) of Chandra-Gupta II.1 Abu-1 Hasan 'Ali says that Safar was pardoned by Barkamārîs and was persuaded by him not to resign, and that Safar wrote a treatise on Politics, 'Instruction of Kings', i.e., a book under the title of Rāja-nîti, which was greatly admired by the king and all the nobles. Safar is said to have ended his life on the funeral pyre (like Kumārila), he had put it off to complete his book. This book was probably Kāmandakîya (see separate note on the subject in this issue). The Arab translator had prepared an abstract of it. Safar is the Arabic rendering of The name transcribed as سقر $(Siqar ext{ after losing one})$ dot, became سفر (Sifar or Safar). The Kāmandakîya Nîti which is addressed to the King as Instruction (see separate note in this issue), mentions the king's name (His Majesty the King Deva) and defends the killing of an enemy by assuming a disguise (see separate note). The coins of Chandra-Gupta and the contemporary sculptures, e.g. at the Chandra-Gupta cave at Udaygiri, prove that long locks of hair were worn by aristocracy at the time. That the besieged place was a hill-fortress from which the soldiers of the enemy could be hurled down is corroborated by the independent testimony of the verse in Rājaśekhara. sor Lévi says that it was to give satisfaction to his 'people' that Rāma-Gupta agreed to the term, but 'prakritīnāmāśvasanāya' should refer to his Prime Minister (with the Ministers' Council), as stated by Abu-1 Hasan 'Ali. After the defeat was turned into a victory, 'Rawwal's power increased.' This as well as the closing statement that

> 'the power of Barkamārīs and his kingdom spread until at length all India submitted to him'

could not be derived from the Devi-Chandraguptam, nor would the detail about the composition of the book on Political Science. The whole information is based on some historical

¹ E.I., X. 70. See the next paper in this issue.

work and not on a semi-historical source like a drama. It is also noteworthy that Abū Śálih made an abstract of the book of Safar (Śikhara), and he was not relying on oral tradition, for he especially notes 'I have related all the facts just as I found them.'

- § 8. Coming to (1) Bana, the position is this. That Chandra-Gupta dressed himself up as a woman and killed the Sakapati is a statement which can be explained only by the other data we now possess. Bana who lived within a few miles from Pātaliputra (which I regard with Mr. Allan as the capital of the Gupta empire) and writing only two hundred years after Chandra-Gupta II, being intimately connected with the royal court of Harsha and the Maukharis, must have had information in the form of court traditions and written state annals, which are spoken of by his contemporary Yuan Chwang especially with reference to the time of Vikramāditya. Even failing the latter, one would know in those days of the great Chandra-Gupta Vikramāditva as we know to-dav of Akbar or Aurangzeb. An event connected with the preceding and recent dynasty in the time of Bana—an event so epically daring and successful—an event which must have become part of universal knowledge like the fall of the Kaiser in our life-time—an event which swept away a hateful Mlechchha dynasty which had ruled for some 400 years—an event so triumphant as to cause a revival of the title of Vikramāditya, was beyond the possibility of oblivion in Bāna's time. His statement about it should be regarded as good history.
- § 9. The result is that we have three independent sources ranging from 800 to 1000 A.D., confirming the Devi-Chandraguptam expressly and one of *C.* 620 A.D., confirming it impliedly. The evidence of the Devi-Chandraguptam is therefore to be accepted.
 - (ii) Gupta Inscriptions.
- \S 10. Now let us consider whether the datum is against the inscriptions.

The inscriptions do not seek to give either a complete genealogy of Samudra-Gupta's sons or a complete list of successions. They only purport to give the line of a particular king, e.g. of Chandra-Gupta II, Kumāra-Gupta, Skanda-Gupta. As only the son and the descendants of Chandra-Gupta II succeeded, no mention was necessary or possible of Rāma-Gupta. Chandra-Gupta II was the son of Samudra-Gupta and the fact was mentioned; neither Chandra-Gupta nor his descendants would go out of their way to bring in Rāma-Gupta in the official records: the descent from father to son was complete in itself. Again, Chandra-Gupta II had in his favour the additional fact that his father's will and bequest was in his favour. The fact was mentioned to justify the unusual succession of the younger son, which became probably necessary on account of the existence of some other brother elder than Chandra-Gupta. The Eran inscription of Samudra-Gupta mentions the existence of several sons and grandsons of Datta-Devi and Samudra Gupta. Abū Sālih also says that Rawwāl had his 'brothers' with him, that is, brothers more than Chandra-Gupta, who was evidently one of the youngest, as he was only a lad who could successfully assume the look of a girl. The succession of young sons in the dynasty—e.g. in the known cases of Samudra-Gupta, Chandra-Gupta and Skanda-Gupta explains the high average of reigns in the dynasty.

(iii) Identification and Succession of Rāma-Gupta.

§11. We have the unassigned coins of Kācha Gupta which follow so closely the coinage of Samudra-Gupta that Mr. Allan in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins has assigned them to Samudra-Gupta himself. Yet the portrait is so different that he has to be taken as a distinct and separate king. His coins are few and of one type. There is no doubt that they come immediately after Samudra-Gupta and that his issues were not many. Dr. Bhandarkar has told me that 'Rāma' is merely a misreading for 'Kācha' which is plausible enough in the script of the Gupta period. But it is also possible that Kācha had The Muhammadan historian's another name as 'Rāma'. Rawwāl suggests a Prakrit form derived from 'Rāma'. It, again, occurs in the quotation given by Rājasekhara in his Kāvyamīmāmsā as Śarma मर्स (corr. राम)-Gupta which, in my opinion, as already pointed out, is a copyist's mistake for the Nāgarî Rāma-Gupta. The form Rāma occurring so persistently is probably not to be taken as a mere misreading of Kācha. I have, however, no doubt, in view of the coinage, that he is identical with Kācha, and Dr. Bhandarkar's main conclusion and mine agree in the result.

§12. The Gupta official inscriptions assert that Chandra-Gupta II had been selected by Samudra-Gupta as his successor to the Empire of India. This should be taken as a fact. The subsequent generations accepted it. The selection by the father implies, as in his own case, that there was an elder son or there were elder sons who were not considered to be competent by the father. In the case of Samudra-Gupta's selection by his father, the Council of Ministers gave their assent (Allahabad Pillar inscriptions 1). But this is not asserted in the case of Chandra-Gupta II. On the other hand, as we have seen, Abū Sālih says that a very able authority on Hindu Politics was the chief minister at the succession of Rawwal and that he remained his faithful supporter throughout and was opposed to Vikramāditya and that on the latter's accession he wanted to retire. Evidently the Prime Minister (that is, he along with the Council of Ministers) did not favour a passing over of the eldest who in the eye of the orthodox Hindu Law was entitled to succeed as a matter of right. Events proved that the Prime Minister proved a pedant in the matter, and the late Emperor was right. Rāma-Gupta was a coward, as Viśākhadatta puts it, or a man of little courage, as Rājaśekhara's authority describes him. As far as he could do it, he lost everythingthe empire, name, prestige and honour of his house. Samudra-Gupta must have considered that the Shāhānushāhi, who had occupied the imperial position for the last three centuries, though had accepted his suzerainty, was still in the country and would probably raise his head again; and that there were at the time the powerful and ambitious Vākāṭakas who had been dreaming of acquiring the imperial position for themselves. Samudra-Gupta had made a right estimate of the political situation and of his eldest son's character,

¹ Allahabad Pillar Inscription, line 7 'sabhyeshüchchhvasiteshu'.

while the ministers evidently failed to realize it. That there had been no war of succession is evident from the fact that Chandra-Gupta the nominee son of Samudra-Gupta remained with his eldest brother and was present with him at the time of the impending disaster and was on good terms with his brother, for he offered to risk his life for the king.

§ 13. The factor which seems to have operated in favour of the succession was the respect for the orthodox Hindu Law which was reigning supreme at the time, having been brought on its pedestal back by the Gupta régime itself. The Guptas and their whole court were fastidious Hindus. Chandra-Gupta himself, following the example of Bharata, would have allowed his elder brother Rāma to be seated on the throne against the parental bequest, as a pious act of self-negation, dictated both by tradition and law. Abū Sālih and the inscriptions both unite in describing him as a man with a religious turn of mind.

(iv) Dhruva-Devî.

§ 14. Dhruva-devī who is very respectfully spoken of both by contemporaries and subsequent generations (e.g., she is referred to as Dhruva-svāminī in the verse quoted by Rāja-śekhara), seems to have given up marital relations with Rāma-Gupta after her rescue, according to Viśākhadatta. She was justified in giving up her unmanly husband, who had belied his name and the tradition underlying that name. Rāma had fought Rāvaṇa for his wife, while Rāma-Gupta agreed to give up his wife and hand her over to the Mlechchha to save his own life and throne. She had a right to be disgusted; and unless she were an effete woman with no individuality and backbone, as long as she was a woman, she must resent and decline to own such a despicable man as her lord. She was, according to Viśākhadatta, burning with shame, indignation, sorrow, asceticism and fear¹ (of molestation from Rāma-Gupta?).

§ 15. How Rāma-Gupta's end came about, we do not know and we will not know until we recover a complete copy of the Devi-Chandraguptam. Very likely it came about in the

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 229, verse in passage marked VI.

form of a popular rising: for the Mahā-Bhārata says that the king who does not protect is to be treated like a rabid dog by his subjects. It seems, however, certain that it was a violent But there is no evidence yet to connect it directly or indirectly with Chandra-Gupta. In rescuing the honour of the Queen of Hindu India and his brother's throne he acted as one of the noblest of men. He had made personal sacrifice in allowing his brother's succession. He as king practically abolished capital punishment in India. In face of his known character, we cannot accept the story attributing his brother's murder to him, in the absence of positive and reliable evidence.1 He is called a Rājarshi² at Udyagiri and Viśākhadatta in the Mudrā-Rākshasa bharatavākya (discussed below) describes Chandra-Gupta as bandhubhrityah ('loyal to his brother'). Available evidence contradicts the later aspersion which the Sanjan plate is careful to qualify with 'as one hears'. Although the evidence of Abū Sālih is against Chandra-Gupta but it is to be taken as yet lacking corroboration and the details lack reality.8

RE-MARRIAGE OF DHRUVADEVI.

§ 15. The re-marriage of Dhruvadevī with Chandra-Gupta must be accepted as a historical fact.

We have the reference contained in the Sanjan Copperplate of Amoghavarsha (I) dated 795 Saka (=873 A.D.). Amoghavarsha who had gifted away the entire State (i.e., its revenue) and once cut off his finger to deliver his subjects from some national distress, was compared with the Gupta king, the

¹ Bāṇa does not give Chandra-Gupta in his list as murdering his brother. Mr. Altekar's explanation (J.B.O.R.S., XV, 141; XIV, 241-242) is not borne out by the text he relies on. The reference madanavikāra-gopana-parasya seems to be an affair like or related to his love for Mādhavasenā (J.B.O.R.S., XIV, 228, I.A., 1923, p. 183), and śatrubhttasya has an evident connexion with an episode of that nature. In that bhita state of mind he seeks refuge into the palace.

² Fleet, G.I., p. 35, l. 3.

³ Abū Sālih's this part of the story does not read like history. That the king's palace should be unattended by any guards at the door and any servants inside, and his not recognizing even the voice of his beggar-brother (Barkamārîs) are details belonging to the region of pure fiction.

greatest dātā (benefactor) of the Kali Age, who had caused to be recorded gifts of a hundred thousand Koțis (crores) [in his reign]. The comparison was concluded to the advantage of the Rāshtrakūta king, as the Gupta king was alleged to have misappropriated the kingdom of his brother and also taken his Devī (Queen). Abū Sālih says that Vikramāditya performed the obsequies of his brother and married the queen of his brother on his death. The fact that Chandra-Gupta re-married Dhruvadevi, the widow of his brother, is certain. Such a marriage was not only sanctioned but held desirable by the Hindu Law which ruled in that age. The story given in the Mujmal-ut-Tawārîkh that the Queen had been first betrothed to Vikramāditya and that his elder brother Rawwal took her himself as his wife may or may not be true, it may or may not be a subsequent explanation. But the popular version attested by the account given by Abū Sālih and the taunt in the Sanjan plate, together with the statement in the official documents of the Guptas, establish the re-marriage.

(v) The place of Rāma-Gupta's disaster.

§ 16. Abū Sālih says that Vikramāditya's brother was besieged in a hill-fortress. We are here materially helped by Rājaśekhara who in his Kāvyamīmāmsā (p. 47, ch. IX-on Arthavyāpti) cites from an older authority a verse discussed above saying 'in that very Himālaya' (तिसिन्नेव हिसाल्ये) where the demoralised (khandita-sāhasaḥ) 'Sarma-Gupta' (corr. Rāma-Gupta) had been besieged (ruddhagatih) and had to (agree to) surrender 'the Queen Dhruva-Svāminî' 'Your fame is sung by womenfolk...' This datum is earlier than Rājaśekhara, that is, earlier than 900 A.D. And we have it stated definitely therein that the Gupta king was held up in a place in the Himalayan range. We may take note of the fact that Abū Sālih's survey is confined to the provinces of Sindh and the Punjab. I would conclude that the place was in the hills in the Jallundhar Doab, somewhere in or about the Sabathu Hill of the Himalayas where in the Moghul times Guru Govind Simha founded his military base. My reasons for this conclusion are these. The Gupta empire under the preceding reign, according to the Allahabad Pillar

inscription, which was recorded after the death of Samudra-Gupta either under Rāma-Gupta or Chandra-Gupta, extended upto the kingdom of Kartripura and Nepal. The territory adjoining Kartripura was thus evidently under the rule of the The hill-fortress—a strong position and a strong Guptas. building-had been already prepared, according to Abū Sālih, i.e., by the Gupta kings. We may take it that it must have been in the Gupta territory. There was a war in the plains and the Gupta king was forced to take shelter in his fortress. battle-fields in each country are designed by nature. As a big land war is bound to be decided near Attock in the Frontier Province, or at Panipat if it takes place in the Kurukshetra country; similarly in the Punjab proper the field designed by nature is the Doab of Jallundhar between the Beas and Jhelum. as illustrated by the Sikh Wars in recent times.

§ 17. Do we get any place-name in our documents for this war? Aripura of Bāṇa, if a proper-name, was the area which like Kartripura, extended upto the Himalayan Hills, viz., to the Simla and Sabathu Hills. King Bhoja reads it as Alipura (transcribed in the southern manuscript as Alipura). The old village of Aliwāl in the Jallundhar District which became a battle-field in the first Sikh War might be retaining that ancient name.

The Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi ('King, king of kings'), that is, the Kushāṇa Emperor, the neighbour of Samudra-Gupta, could have been only in the Punjab. His territory extended from the frontiers of Katripura upto Bactria, his ancestral seat, probably as one administrative unit.²

(vi) The Śaka-pati.

The Śaka-pati of our authorities 2 therefore was in the Punjab, and undoubtedly he was Śakâdhipati, as Śaṅkara calls him or * Sakhādhipati of Rājaśekhara's author, that is, he was the Emperor of the Śakas or the Śakan Emperor, the Shāhā-shāhā-nushāhi ['King, king of kings,']. The other title given by

¹ I am told, there is a hill-fortress Alipur in the Kangra District.

² For his name and kingdom in the Punjab see my second paper on the subject in the next issue of this Journal.

Śańkara, Śakānām āchāryaḥ, has a bearing on this question. That king was not only the emperor of the Śakas but also their religious leader—which is probably an attempt to give value to Daivaputra 'the Son of Heaven'.

(vii) Date of the Śakâdhipati War.

The war was fought immediately or soon after the death of Samudra-Gupta and the accession of Rāma-Gupta. This is suggested by Abū Salih's account. The fewness of Kācha's coins and their being only of one variety suggest that the total reign of Rāma-Gupta Kācha, both before and after the Himalayan disaster, did not cover more than two years or so. We should date the war about 375–380 A.D. Early in the beginning of the next century when Fa-Hian comes, he does not find any big Buddhist emperor in the Punjab, nor does he mention a recent war. He only knows an established and wonderfully well-regulated and a most prosperous government. The war must have been finished some considerable time before his visit.

(viii) Forms of Gupta names.

§18. I have shown in my separate note on the authorship of the Kāmandakîya Niti-sāra that in the Gupta names the real names are the first members. This is fully established by inscriptions (cited in that note). 'Gupta' is to be taken in the names as upādhi (title)—Chandraśchāsau Guptaḥ, as in the case of 'Prabhāvatî Guptā'. The real name of Chandra-Gupta is therefore Chandra, Chandra the Gupta. Compare in this connection the expression Gupta-nātha in the Mandasor inscription of the 'national leader' Yasodharman who was not a king and who mentions his sovereign as 'the Gupta Master'. All Hindu writers (e.g., in the Sanjan plate) treat Gupta as the family title, which means that it is not a part of the name. This is clearly illustrated by Deva-raja and Deva-Gupta, the other name of Chandra-Gupta. We should spell these names as Chandra Gupta, Kumāra Gupta, etc., and not as Chandragupta, Kumaragupta, etc. should also note that the coins of Kācha Gupta always and Chandra-Gupta often show the name only as 'Kācha' and 'Chandra'.

(ix) Miharauli Iron Pillar.

§ 19. The original site of the iron pillar now standing at Kutub-Mihrauli (Delhi) must have been a 'mountain' (girau), at Vishnupada, as the inscription on it proves. It was probably in the Himalayas near or above Hardwar which is reputed as Vishnupadī. The place must have been under Anangapāla to enable him to bring it from there and re-set it at Delhi. This too points towards the Hardwar hills. The inscription on it is later than the death of the sovereign Chandra mentioned on the pillar. The pillar was erected by himself, but the inscription was engraved by his successor.

Mr. Ganga Prasad Mehta, a professor of history at the Hindu University at Benares, has written a work in Hindi on Chandra-Gupta II for the Hindustani Acadamy of Allahabad. In its introduction I have accepted the identification by that scholar of the Chandra of the Iron Pillar with Chandra-Gupta For the information of English-knowing scholars I may give here the line of the argument of Mr. Mehta. He compares the language of and expressions in the coins of Chandra-Gupta II with those occurring on the pillar. He also shows that Chandra-Gupta was a great Vaishnava both according to the Gupta inscriptions and this pillar. The comparison of expressions seems to me as convincing. Chandra's identification with the Chandra of Susunia inscription, as originally proposed by MM. Haraprasad Sastri, is to be given up, as Mr. K. N. Dikshit has proved the latter to be a Bengal king. The scripts also prove that the latter flourished later than the builder of the Iron Pillar.

§ 20. The last line of the Iron Pillar has a curious word, dhāvena, which has been variously taken, viz., as a proper-name and as a mis-spelt word. Its position shows that it is a proper name. But instead of correcting it into bhāvena (as done by Dr. Fleet) I would read it as Devena.

§21. In any case the identity seems to be certain. For this we have internal evidence in the history recorded in

¹ Fleet, G.I., p. 142, No. ².

² The letter is clearly cut as dhā, which in any case is a mistake.

the inscription itself. The king 'having crossed in war' 'the seven faces of the river Sindhu' defeated the Bactrian (i.e., in or about Bactria) (tīrtvā yena mukhāni sapta samare Sindhor jjitā Vālhikāh). This will be necessary if Chandra-Gupta II wanted to finish the Kushāṇa rule in India once for all. he did finish it is admitted at all hands. The Kushānas had Bactria, their ancestral home, as their real base, wherefrom they retrieved their position shaken in India in the past. was necessary to wage war over the whole of the Sapta-Sindhu area (Persian Haft-Hindu) with which Afghanistan and Bactria were intimately and integrally connected. Chandra conquered the seven faces or feeders of the Indus 'in war', that is, he had to contest all the ground of the Seven-Sindhu Province. In going to Bactria from Āryāvarta one has to cross successively the seven rivers making up the Indus (i.e., the five rivers of the Punjab, with the Kabul and the Kunar rivers meeting the Indus). The Kabul, the Kunar and the five rivers of the Punjab make up the trunk or the body of the Indus: the Indus in fact has seven 'mukhas', faces, mouths or feeders. They are not the mouths of the River as we understand the term in English. Only a mariner will think of passing the seven mouths of the Indus at the sea. No sane man will see the necessity of crossing all the mouths of the river in an expedition even in going to Baluchistan, to get where one would cross only the main stream of the Indus. Scholars have been misled by the word 'mouths' into supposing that the king reached Baluchistan and that Baluchistan was meant by Vālhīka. But that the Hindus had a correct and exact view of Valhika (as Bactria) even upto the time of Rājasekhara is proved by the Kāvyamīmānsā (Ch. XVII; p. 94). Sapta mukhāni in the inscription is used in the same sense as chatur-mukha, shadanana) Dasânana—having so many heads. Sindhu (Nada, a man-river. is envisaged as having seven faces or heads.

§ 22. The script of the Iron Pillar is certainly second only in date to the Allahabad Pillar script. Its early character is admitted by every one. Now we find that *Chandra* alone was the real name of Chandra-Gupta II, there is therefore no difficulty in the way of the identification on the score of the

name-form. The history of the extinction of the Kushāṇa power in India fits in with the history recorded on the Iron Pillar. In the inscription, passages from coin-legends of Chandra-Gupta II are incorporated, as Mr. Mehta shows. He is the great Vaishṇava king of the dynasty. The age of the script agrees exactly with the age of Chandra-Gupta II. Conquest of Bengal is proved by the possessions of Bengal in the hands of his descendants. Chandra-Gupta II's political influence in southern countries is now well-established. All this fully tallies with the biography of Chandra on the Iron Pillar. I do not find that there is any loop-hole for an escape from the identification of the Chandra of the Iron Pillar with Chandra-Gupta II.

§ 23. The language of the verses is one which only a Kālidāsa could have employed. Kalidāsa who was a contemporary (being an ambassador of Chandra-Gupta II in the south 1) could not have thought of describing a Hindu digvijaya reaching the banks of the Oxus (Vankshu), i.e., Bactria, without the fact having been accomplished by a Hindu Sovereign before or in his time, and who could this Hindu Sovereign be other than Chandra-Gupta II?

(x) Viśākhadatta.

§ 24. When last December I saw the Gupta cave-temple at Udaygiri (Bhilsa-Vidiśa), cut by the Governor of Chandra-Gupta II, and the Varāha panel, I found for myself the whole scheme—the Varāha, the rock-cut temple, the subsidiary statues of the Gupta coin-goddess, etc.—as one piece of architectural design. The same polish which is on the handsome figures of Jaya and Vijaya with long locks of hair parted in the middle, at the door of the temple, extends up to the Varāha panel executed by the side of the door. It was a good thing that the Varāha figure is sculptured outside the temple, otherwise the grandeur of that masterpiece would have been lost in the darkness of the cave. Face to face with the standing figure of Varāha, in the pose of Chandra-Gupta II on his coins, rescuing

¹ Moraes, Kadamba-kula, pp. 21, 26, 27.

by the end of his tusk a most beautiful woman, receiving the homage of orthodoxy in the persons of rishis and of the crowd playing various music, face to face with that image, I recalled to my mind Viśākhadatta's bharatavākya:—

वारा हो मात्मयो ने स्तनुमवन विधावास्थितस्यानु रूपां यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटि प्रलयपरिगता प्रिश्चिये भूतधात्री। स्रोक्के रहिक्यमाना सुजयुगमधुना संश्चिता राजसूर्तीः स श्रीमद्वस्थर विस्मवतु महीं पार्थिवस्वन्नगुप्तः॥

The ślesha in the verse is to be interpreted. Dhundhirāja. the commentator, failed to carry the figure upto the part dealing with 'King Chandra-Gupta'. The verse, fully interpreted, gives the biography of the King Chandra-Gupta. Chandra-Gupta has been taken by Vísākhadatta to mean Vishnu: chandra=gold; chandragupta=hiranya-garbha=Vishnu. Prithvî is Dhurā, bhûta-dhātrī is the mother of the race as well as the Prithvî; danta-koți is a weapon, a dagger-knife shaped as the tusk of a boar still current in India.2 Now Viśākhadatta had to bring in the weapon danta-koti in his allusion to his king 'reigning at present'; for this he adopted the simile of the Varāha incarnation, where also the rescued Earth is regarded as vishnu's wife. He executed his slesha in a masterly manner. Vishņu killed Hiraņyāksha by assuming the guise of Boar; Chandra-Gupta killed the Mlechchha by assuming an appropriate disguise, of śakti (Vaishnavî).

To translate the benedictory verse in its two main aspects—
(1) King Chandra-Gupta and (2) Vishņu:—

(1) May the king Chandra Gupta, loyal to his (late) Majestic (Stimān) brother, rule over the country for a long time—the king on the arms of whose royal figure at this moment rests she (the Country or Queen Dhruva-Devi) who had been subjected to mental agony by the Mlechchhas, the king who, while being his own self (sex), assumed the disguise of Vārāhî

¹ See Sarvānanda on Amara, III. 180. Gupta by itself means Vishnu মুমুল্লমহাম্য: (Vi. S. Nāma).

² For danta (Vedic) as the head of an arrow or some similar weapon see Monier Williams (Sans. Dict.) I take dantakoti as a technical Gupta name of the dagger called Karauli at present.

(Sakti-energy), a form required ('appropriate') in the duty of protection (avanavidhau) and who rescued by the point of danta-koţi (dagger) the drowning, sinking Protectress (i.e., the Queen; with the other meaning, the 'Earth').

The other (2) meaning (in Vishnu-paksha) is:

That Vishnu, the lord of the Earth, may protect for ever the Country,—Vishnu who possesses Śrî, and his servants in the (two) brothers (Jaya and Vijaya), who in the process of rescue assumed the necessary form of Varāha (Boar), though he is Self-Soul, at the end of whose tusk the Bearess of living beings, sinking in the deluge, obtained safety, and on the two arms of whose regal figure, rests she who had been harassed by the Mlechchhas (Asuras).

§ 25. The sculpture seems to me to be the result of Viśākhadatta's imagination. The temple is without a deity inside. The deity is sculptured outside. But the temple has the two brothers (Jaya and Vijaya) at the door. The sculptor has followed the imagery of Viśākhadatta and if Viśākhadatta was a man of Malwa or related to the Governor of Chandra-Gupta who was the donor of the temple and the sculptures, he might have himself directed the drawing. In any case the two are interconnected. The sculptor has drawn a Chandra-Gupta (with Dhruvadevī)-Varāha, and the poet a Chandra-Gupta Maurya turned into Chandra-Gupta II plus a Vishņu of necessity—the necessity of a low disguise.¹

§ 26. The Devi-Chandraguptam is the life-drama of this epic king. We have the illustration in the *Kaumudimahotsava*, another Gupta piece, where the biography of a ruling king was staged.² But the Devi-Chandraguptam was probably rendered later than its hero. The familiar name 'Deva' is replaced by the official name Chandra-Gupta even in his pre-coronation state. A love-scene with a courtezan is staged, which would be an indecency in the life-time of the hero. The drama must have

¹ By calling the king 'pārthiva Chandra-Gupta' ('Vishņu in human, material form') probably the poet is (hinting) that the upāsya and the upāsaka were identified (tanmaya) by devotion, and the consequentia manifestation of superhuman deeds, partaking of the attributes of Vishņu through the devotee, was the result of that bhakti unity.

² For the book see the Journal of the Andhra Research Society, Vols. II and III; and discussion thereon by me in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1930, p. 50 ff.

been written in the time of his son and might not have been published by the author in his own life-time. While Mudrā-Rākshasa is a contemporary document, the Devi-Chandraguptam is later. The author must have been a younger contemporary of the king. He was a 'Māhāraja's' grandson; probably he belonged to Mālwa and was unfamiliar with the familiar name of the King ('Deva') which is used by his daughter Prabhāvatî Guptā and her descendants.

V.—The Book on Political Science by Sikhara, Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

Abū Sālih,¹ the Arab, who made an abstract of the book of Sifar or Siqar (=Śikhara)² gives the name of the book as Adabu-l Mulūk or 'Instructions to Kings' which is a rendering of Rāja-nīti. That Kāmandakīya Nīti is a work which had been well-established before the time of Bhavabhūti and Dandin is shown by Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum S.S. no. 14, pp. V-VI). Other grounds for holding it to be a Gupta production are given by me in my Hindu Polity (i. 215) and I need not repeat them here. Abū Sālih and the Nīti itself help us in assigning it to the reign of Chandra-Gupta II.

Just as Viśākhadatta contrives to give the name of Chandra-Gupta II in the benedictory verse at the close of the Mudrā-Rākshasa, the author of the Nīti-sāra manages to give the name of his patron in an unmistakable way in the opening verse. Owing to the double meaning (ślesha) which is the ruling literary fashion of the Gupta Kāvya, the reference escaped notice of scholars:

यस्य प्रभावाङ्क्वनं भाश्वते पणि तिस्रति । देवः स जयति श्रीमान दग्डधारो मचीपतिः ॥

'His Majesty (Śrīmān) King Deva, holder of the sceptre, by whose authority men are adhering to the traditional (national) path, is ruling ("is victorious").'

We know from the Sanchi inscription of Âmrakārdava, an officer of Chandra-Gupta II, that the emperor Chandra-Gupta's pet name [priya-nāma, translated as 'familiar name' by Fleet, G.I., p. 33] was Deva-rāja or 'King Deva'. That Deva was the name and not Deva-rāja is evident from the fact that Prabhāvatī Guptā is described as the daughter of Deva Gupta, not

¹ See my article on Chandra-Gupta II, in this issue.

² Misreading of q for f for want of one dot. See my article on Chandra-Gupta II, supra.

Deva-rāja, in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions (Fleet, G. I., p. 235ff.). The identity of Chandra-Gupta II and Deva-Gupta, father of Prabhāvatī, is fully established by the inscription discussed by Mr. Pathak which gives Chandra-Gupta instead of Deva-Gupta (I.A., 1912, 215, V. Smith, J.R.A.S., 1914, 325). The names of the Gupta dynasty with -Gupta endings are to be spelt in English with a capital G (e.g., Chandra-Gupta), as the real names are only the first members (Samudra, Chandra, Skanda, etc.). This is illustrated by the forms Deva-rāja, Deva-Gupta, Prabhāvatī-Guptā, etc., where Gupta is used as a mere surname.

The real name was thus only 'Deva'. We already know that ministerial posts were hereditary under the Guptas.¹ The old, blind *Mantrin* ('Wazīr'), who evidently came down from the time of the emperor's father, exercised the privilege of age in referring to his new and young sovereign by the *priya* (dear and familiar) name Deva.

The book further bears the stamp of the revival of the traditions of Chandra-Gupta the Maurya. As royal parents revived the name naming their sons after the Maurya Chandra-Gupta, as emperors sought to revive the Indian empire of the Maurya, so authors went back to the Maurya literature and made pointed references to it. Our Nīti belongs to that class, and the author does bring in the name of Chandra-Gupta and Kautilya (ājahāra nrichandrāya Chandraguptāya medinīm, i. 5).

The author says that he is giving 'Instructions to the King (or, kings)' in the matters of government by his manual (i, 7-8, उपार्जने पासने च भूमेर्भ्सीयरं प्रति, यत्विश्वदुपदेख्यासः...).

The last verse of Ch. 25 (verse 71) seems to defend Chandra-Gupta II for killing the Śaka by stratagem:

'This is well settled that enemies may be killed by stratagem; morality is not offended by a murder of an enemy through disguise':

सुनियतसुपष्टन्यात् कूटयुद्धेन ग्राचून् । न ष्टि तिरयति धर्मे ऋदाना ग्राचुचातः ॥

¹ Allan, C.C.G.D., p. xiii. Śikhara, however, was a Brahmin, whose father was a pandita; he seems to have risen himself by learning, but in his son the post became hereditary (EI. X, 70).

And he cites what Drona's son did, while the Pāṇḍava army was asleep, unsuspecting (अचित्रतमवसुप्तं पाण्डवानामनीकं निश्चि सुनिधितसस्त्रो दोणस्त्रनुर्जधान॥).

There are numerous passages in the Niti which echo the language and style of the classical Gupta poets.

Kāmandaka was probably a family title of Šikhara, as Kauṭilya was of Vishnugupta. As Vishnugupta Kauṭilya wrote his Artha-Śāstra for Narendra (Chandra-Gupta Maurya), Śikhara (Kāmandaka) wrote his Nīti-sāra for king Deva.

Khazrāji Ibn Abi Usaibei'a, the Arab writer, in his history of scientists which he completed in 743 A.H., mentions (vol. II, pp. 32-34, Egyptian printed edition, Matha-i-Wahbia, 1882 A.D.) that the book by the Hindi author Sikkar, (which can be read both as Sikkar and Sikkah) was translated into Arabic (evidently under the Abbasid Caliphs). This Sikkar is Śikhara and undoubtedly the same authority who is mentioned by Abū Sālih and is misspelt in the manuscript consulted by Elliot as Sifar (or Safar). Khazraji tells us that some Hindu author Sanihal (منجهل) wrote on the book of Sikkar. Khazraji is here giving the name of the commentator of Sikkar, i.e., Sikhara. There was only one early commentator of the Kāmandaka-Nīti, Śańkara-Ārya, and Śańkara-Ārya cites no other commentator.2 We do not know the date of Sankara-Arya from Indian sources. Śańkarārya does not quote any late authority.3 The word Sankara, pronounced in a vernacular of the Punjab or Sindh as Sangkar or Sangkhar, will be rendered by Arabs as Sanghar and Sanjhar.

¹ I am obliged to my friend Mr. Reaz Hasan Khan for kindly giving me an extract from this author bearing on Sanskrit authorities known to the Arabs.

² That Śaṅkarārya is not the same as Śaṅkara, the commentator of the Mudrā-Rakṣhasa, is clear from their respective styles, and the forms of their names would also indicate two different persons.

[§] He cites Kautilya, a book on trade (panya) by Videharāja, one on agriculture by Parāśara (II § 3, 14). The last two are unknown to every other writer on politics.

VI.—The Paramaras of Bhinmal.

D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (London).

The Bhinmal branch of the Paramâras played a considerable part in the history of mediæval India. The princes of this family designated themselves the rulers of Marumaṇḍala¹. Their territory extended upto Balmer in the Jodhpur State on the west, and their capital was at Śrîmâla, the modern Bhinmal, in the same Jodhpur State, a hundred miles south-west from Jodhpur itself.

Our main source of material for building up the short history of this family is the mutilated Kiradu inscription.²

The record is dated 1218 V.S.=1161 A.D. Here Sindhurâja is described as the earliest member of the family, whose son and successor was Dûsala. The former is probably the same as the younger brother and successor of the Paramâra Vâkpati-Muñja, king of Malwa (A.D. 972-995). Vâkpati once proceeded as far as the country of Marwar, in the course of his campaigns.³ It may be that during that time Candana and Dûsala were respectively posted in Jalor and Bhinmal, as Viceroys of the imperial house of Dhârâ.

After a mention of the name Dûsala, a few lines in the Kiradu inscription are illegible. Next we come across the name of the prince Devarâja. An inscription of his reign has been discovered. It is dated Sam. 1059=1002 A.D., and was issued when the king was residing in Śrîmâla (i.e., Bhinmal).

Devarâja seems to have established friendly relations with the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî after the defeat of the Mâlava king Sindhurâja by the Caulukya Câmuṇḍarâja. His inscription relates that he pleased one Durlabharâja by his military achievement. Durlabha was, in all probability, the

¹ Kiradu inscription. (Unpublished).

² Ibid. ³ E.I., Vol. X, p. 20.

⁴ Śrîmâl âvasthita mahārājādhirāja-Śrî-Devarāja. (Unpublished.)

⁶ E.I., Vol. I, p. 297.

Câhamâna king of the same name, the younger brother of Vigraharâja, who ruled Śâkambharî in the latter part of the tenth century A.D.

After the mention of Devarâja, some lines in the Kiradu inscription are again found broken. I think we miss in them the name of Dhamdhuka. Next comes Kṛṣṇarâja. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

The first one is found on a pillar of a rest-house, east of the temple of Bârâji, in the town of Bhinmal. It was issued in Sam. 1117=1060 A.D., when Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Krsnarâja, son of Dhamdhuka, grandson of Devarâja of the Paramâra race, was ruling at Śrîmâla. Its object is to register the facts that five personages, viz., Kirinaditya (Kiranaditya?) and Vanî Dhamdhaka, sons of Jola of the Dharkuta family, Dada Hari, son of Mâdhava, Dhamdhanaka, son of Dharanacanda, and Dharanâditya, son of Sarvadeva of the Thâkhâta race, undertook the work of repairing the temple of the Sun-god named Jagatsvâmi. After the completion of the work a Brahman named Jejâka made at his own cost a golden jar and placed it on the temple. The king Kṛṣṇarāja, in order to meet the expenses of the temple, ordered that a certain village in the Srî 2...purîyamandala should pay to it yearly 20 drammas. He also granted for the same purpose a plot of land and a drona from his store (of the crops) in the village of Sacaliya. The grant was executed by Candana.

The second inscription, dated Sam. 1123=1066 A.D., was found on a pillar of the temple of Jagsvâmi at Śrîmâla. It also mentions the name of Kṛṣṇarâja as ruling in Śrîmâla, and designates him as mahârâjâdhirâja. It mentions the names of a number of servants of the officers of religion in the service of the God Candîśa Mahâdeva, and records the gift of a certain number of drammas by the Brahmans Gugâ and Vâhata in favour of the above deity.

The decline of the power of the Paramara government at

Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 472.

² A portion of the name of the province is missing.

⁸ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 473.

Dhârâ in the sixth decade of the eleventh century A.D., left the Caulukya Bhîma I, the king of Gujarat, free to ravage its collateral branches in Marwar and Abu. Kṛṣṇarâja's military strength was too insignificant to check the onward march of the Caulukyas. He fell a captive in the hands of Bhîma and was thrown into prison. In this terrible calamity he obtained his release through the help of the Câhamânas of Nadol. In the Sundha hill inscription ¹ king Bâlaprasâda, the successor of Anahilla, is described as having forced Bhîma to release Kṛṣṇadeva. Bhîma I closed his reign in 1063 A.D. The Bhinmal inscription dated 1066 A.D., referred to above, proves that Kṛṣṇarâja after his release regained his throne and ruled his territory as an independent monarch. He was followed by Socchirâja, Udayarâja and Someśvara.

The Kiradu inscription,² dated Sam. 1218=1161 A.D., already referred to above, was issued during the reign of the last-mentioned prince.

In the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the Câhamânas of Nadol seem to have wrested from Someśvara the territory of Kiradu with the assistance of the Caulukya Kumârapâla, the king of Gujarat. The Câhamâna Âlhaṇa, a feudatory of the Caulukyas, issued an inscription dated Saṃ. 1209=1152 A.D., from Kiradu.³

Kumârapâla's victory over the Ajmer king Arņorâja brought a period of great prosperity to the Gujarat empire. But Vigraharâja (1153–1164 A.D.), the successor of Arņorâja, a powerful military leader, invaded the territory of the Caulukyas, and is said to have converted Naḍdûla (Nadol) into a naḍavâla (i.e., bed of reeds) and Jâvâlipura (Jalor) into Jvâlâpura (i.e., a city of flame). He also reduced many small villages of his enemy into hamlets.

¹ Jajñe bhûbhrt tad anu tanayas tasya Vâ(Bâ)laprasâdo Bhîma-kṣmâbhrc-caraṇa-yugalî-marddana-vyâjato yaḥ | kurvan pîdâm ativa(ba) latayâ mocayâmâsa kârâgârâd bhûmîpatim api tathâ Kṛṣṇadevâbhidhâ-nam || v. 18. (E.I., Vol IX, p. 76).

² Unpublished.

⁸ E.I., Vol. XI, p. 43.

⁴ J.A.S.B., Vol. LV, p. 41.

Someśvara probably took advantage of this disturbed condition of things in Marwar and regained his ancestral territory of Kiradu with the assistance of the Câhamânas of Ajmer.

Someśvara appears to have been succeeded by Jayatasîha. An inscription of Jayatasîha's (Jayatasimha's) reign 1 has been discovered on a pillar in the temple of Jagsvâmi, at Bhinmal. It records that in Sam. 1239, Âśvina,=1182 A.D., October, in the victorious reign of the Mahârâjaputra Jayatasîha, at Śrîmâla, a certain person, viz., Aravasâka Vahiyana, the Guhila, son of Pramahidâ, gave to Vâlâkadeva one dramma in cash.

The Rajput bard describes Jaitsî as a Paramâra, ruling in Abu.² He is also mentioned as a contemporary of the Caulukya Bhîma II (1178–1239 A.D.) and the Câhamâna Pṛthvîrâja III, son of Someśvara, the king of Ajmer (1179–1193 A.D.). It is evidently an error on the part of the bard to describe him as the king of Abu, where the Paramâra Dhârâvarṣa ruled from 1162 to 1227 A.D. in unbroken continuity. The bard relates to us an interesting incident 3 which resulted in a terrible fight between Jaitsî and the Câhamâna Pṛthvîrâja III on one side and Bhîma II on the other.

The story runs that Jaitsî had a very beautiful daughter, Ichanikumârî, who was betrothed to Pṛthvîrâja III, and that Bhîma II, hearing about her extreme beauty, determined to have her for wife himself. He sent an ambassador to the Paramâra chief, demanding the hand of his daughter, but Jaitsî and his son Salakha refused to comply with this request, as the princess was already betrothed to the Câhamâna prince. This infuriated Bhîma, and he ordered the invasion of Abu. Jaitsî, finding his strength quite inadequate to check the progress of the mighty Caulukyas, solicited the Câhamânas for assistance. The Câhamânas took up his cause with great zeal, but in the battle that ensued the Paramâra chief and his son were forced to surrender Abu and fled to Marwar. Bhîma then advanced upon Ajmer, and having slain its king Someśvara, returned to

Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 474.

² Forbes' Rasmala, Ed. by Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 202.

⁸ Ibid. pp. 202 sqq.

Gujarat. But Pṛthvîrâja took over the government of his deceased father, and within a short time invaded Gujarat with a strong force. He defeated the Caulukyas and avenged his father's death by killing Bhîma.

The above story probably contains some amount of historical truth, notwithstanding the fact that there are in it some gross inaccuracies. Bhîma II, who ruled from 1178 to 1239 A.D., was certainly not killed by Pṛthvîrâja III. That the Câhamâna king did invade Gujarat about this period, is borne out however by a contemporary record. The Pârtha-parâkrama relates that the Paramâra Dhârâvarṣa, ruler of Abu, who was a feudatory of Bhîma II, repulsed a night-attack by Pṛthvîrâja, the king of Jangala.¹

Jayatasîha's reign came to an end shortly after that event. He seems to have been succeeded by his son Salakha. The fall of the House of Ajmer in 1193 A.D. left the Paramâras of Bhinmal in a state of helplessness. The Câhamânas of Nadol took the earliest opportunity to fall upon them and deprived them of their territory. The Sundha hill inscription relates that the Câhâmâna Udayasimha ruled over Naḍḍūla, Jâvâlipura, Mâṇḍavyapura, Vâgbhaṭameru, Sûrâcaṇḍa, Râṭahrada, Keḍa, Râmasainya, Śrîmâla, Ratnapura and Satyapura.² Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Saṃ. 1262, 1274 and 1305 (=1206, 1218 and 1249) were issued from Śrîmâla.³ Nothing is known of the Paramâras of Bhinmal since this period.

¹ Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV, p. 3.

² E.I., Vol. IX, p. 73.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 474-476.

VII.—A Note on 'Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna'.

By M. Hamid Kuraishi, Esq., B.A., Archæological Survey of India.

In the recent (September-December, 1930) issue of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Mr. Syed Muhammad, B.A., B.L., has published a lengthy article on 'Old Muslim inscriptions at Patna' complete with bibliography, index, etc. An effort has been made by the author to include in the article all available Persian and Arabic inscriptions from the time when the town formed part of the extensive kingdom of Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal to the year 1857 A.C. Much as the work is to be appreciated, certain defects have crept in here and there which it is the object of this note to correct. In the first place there are a number of Printer's mistakes in the Persian and Arabic texts of the inscriptions, which it is hoped will be duly rectified in the errata. Secondly in some of Mr. Syed Muhammad's readings of the inscriptions the requirements of Persian grammar and idiom have been apparently overlooked. It is not my purpose here to deal with each individual inscription; but a few of the more obvious emendations have been made in the hope that the author who seems to take a keen interest in Muslim epigraphy may be encouraged to be more careful in future.

- (1) Inscription No. 6 on the Mausoleum of Shah Arzāni.—
 The reading شاد جنت از زاني 'Beautiful paradise of Arzāni', neither rhymes properly nor gives good sense; nor indeed does it yield the date 1028 which should be the alphabetical value of the chronogram and which is written in figures at the end of the epigraph. Obviously the phrase should be read as 'Shah-i-Jannat Arzāni'. This reading would rhyme properly, make the chronogram equivalent to 1028 A.H., and give the full name of the saint at the same time.
- (2) Inscription No. 8 on the Patthar-ki-Masjid.—In this important inscription some serious mistakes require to be

amended. According to Mr. Syed Muhammad the mosque was built in 1036 A.H. 'by Prince Parvez under his supervision'; but as that Prince died in 1035 A.H. at Burhanpur, the author believes that although the Prince began the construction of the mosque it was finished after his death. As a matter of fact, however, the inscription clearly mentions in the 3rd line the construction of the building by a highly respectable officer of the Prince named 'Nazar Khweshgi', i.e., Nazar Bahadur, a Khweshgi Afghan of Qasur, near Lahore, who later on held a rank of 1,500 under Jahangir and of 4,000 under Shah Jahan and died in the year 1062 A.H. at Lahore (Maathirul Umarā, Vol. III, pages 818 ff.). The syllable Ba read by the author of the article at the beginning of the name Nazar Khweshgi does not appear on the stone as will be seen fact, the facsimile published with this note.

The chief reason why Mr. Syed Muhammad falls into this error, seems to be his failure to read the *izafat* at the end of the word *chashm* in the first line of the inscription. Obviously it was Prince Parvez and not the Emperor Jahangir who was the light of the other's eyes.

Lastly the fact that Khirāmi (خراسى) in the last line was the poetic name of the composer of the verses has been lost sight of altogether with the result that the author is faced with a construction quite unusual in Persian and has to give a translation which he would not have given otherwise.

The lines in question read:-

47

VOL. XVIII. PT. I.] OLD MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS AT PATNA.

which the author translates as:-

In the reign of the Emperor Jahangir the light of the eye, The just, generous, wise and intelligent Parvez Shah,

* * * *

Constructed this choice building under his supervision and which is

As firm as a rock in the pursuit of the precepts of Mohammad

* * *

I asked about the date of construction from the old wisdom,

Which said 'Say, it is a place to walk to paradise'.

In the light of the readings offered by me, however, the translation of the verses should be as follows:—

'During the viceroyalty of Prince Parvez, the light of the eyes of the Emperor Jahangir, who is just in judgment and generous with wisdom.

* * *

This especial (خاص building was constructed by Nazar Khweshgi who is steadfast like a mountain, in obeying the Law (شرع) of Muhammad.'

I questioned the old man of wisdom about the year of its construction and he replied, Say O Khirāmi 'This place is the best resort'.

The inscription might be in situ; but there is nothing in the inscription to indicate that it was originally put up on a mosque.

- (3) Inscription No. 9 on the Idgah of Saif Khan.—The last but one word in the sixth line of this inscription should be Khush, not Arsh.
- (4) Inscription No. 12 on Haji Chand's Mosque.—Mr. Syed Muhammad finds it difficult to make out how Haji Chand was

related to Shaista Khan; but the Yai nisbat (قايسته خانى) in Shaista-khani (شايسته خانى) leaves no doubt whatsoever that the builder, Haji Chand, was a slave or a personal servant of Nawwab-Shaista Khan. This construction is of frequent occurrence in Muslim inscriptions and we find even ruling kings such as Qutbuddin Aibak and Shamsuddin Altamish mentioning the fact that they were the slaves of the Sultan (Shihābuddin Ghauri) by adding the epithet Sultani at the end of their names.

(5) Inscription No. 47 on the Lodi Katra Mosque.—In this inscription the 2nd hemistich has been read as the 3rd and vice versa. The two couplets, of which the inscription consists, should be read as follows:—

And the translation would be:—'When with the help of God, and through the grace of Shah Arzāni, this mosque was constructed, the pen of Fate wrote down on an auspicious date "A second Kāba has been erected".'

(6) Inscription No. 72 on Shah Rustam Ali's tomb in the compound of a mosque in the Nanmuhia quarter:—

In the third hemistich of this inscription Mr. Syed Muhammad has read Na-Jawānmardam as Najawan Murdam. The translation should therefore be 'if I have not been a (جوانمرد) i.e., a brave or an ideal man in deeds, pass thou by me like a brave man (جوانمرد)'. Mr. Syed Muhammad's translation 'if I died unmanly in action' gives a different sense from that which the composer of the verses intended to convey.

The verse in question reads:-

- (7) Inscription No. 79 on Kazim Ali's mosque:-Here again, as in the case of No. 47, the 2nd hemistich has been read as the 3rd and vice versa. Moreover the word sininash in the third hemistich meaning 'its date' has been misread as sina ash, 'its chest'. The difference is obvious. Again, the closing words of the second line seem to be quite clear on the stone and read (که بود فرق عرش سا) of which the pinnacle touches the heavens'. Lastly the alphabetical value of the Arabic line which is a slightly altered (فولوا وجوهكم شطر المسجد الحرام البسيط) form of the Quranic verse 143, Chapter II with an additional word (al-basit) at the end, comes to 1242 A.H., and is just one unit too much compared with the date given in the closing words of the main inscription which is in Persian verse. It was no doubt with the object of recording the date of the construction of the Mosque in Arabic that these alterations were made in an important Quranic verse.
- (8) Inscription No. 105 on Mir Abdullah's tomb.—The words which have been read by Mr. Syed Muhammad as 'Amthal-i-wafiran' 'the richest men who were examples for it' are really 'Amthal-o-Aqran' (امثال و اقران) 'equals and compeers'.
- (9) In inscription No. 108 on Mian Khan's tomb in the compound of Shaikh Barkat's Mosque, the first couplet reads:—

which Mr. Syed Muhammad translates as:-

'Mian Khan in the beginning of whose youth, Death was written on the carpet of his life.'

But (در نوشت) means 'rolled up'; so the verse should be translated as follows:—

- 'Mian Khan, whose carpet of life Death rolled up in the prime of youth.'
- (10) Inscription No. 110 on the tomb of Muhammadi Khanam in the Shia cemetery situated near the Gulzarbagh Railway Station:—

In this inscription the importance of the epigraph has been lost owing to a free translation of the first couplet in which all the important points have been left out.

The line reads:-

which Mr. Syed Muhammad translates:-

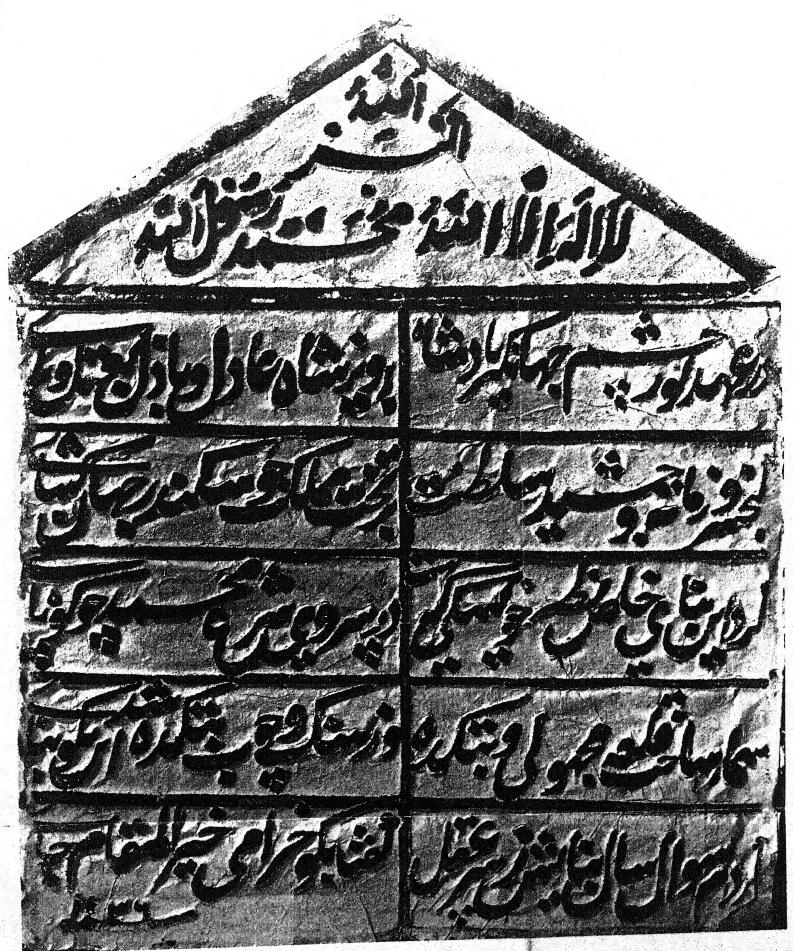
' My heart is broken with lamentation for the separation of the good lady Muhammadi Khanam who is dead.'

The correct translation of the couplet should, in my humble opinion, be as follows:—

'Cry (بنال) O broken hearted Furqati in mourning over her, for thy good wife (زوجهٔ خوبت) Muhammadi Khanam is dead.'

Thus the line contains the poetic name, Furqati, of the composer of these verses who was the husband of the deceased lady. The author's translation does not bring out this relationship and the *takhallus* which invest the epitaph with considerable human interest.

Some of the inscriptions dealt with by Mr. Syed Muhammad are of great historical importance and it would have been better to publish their facsimiles and also to give brief accounts of the careers of the personages mentioned therein.



Inscription on Pathar-ki-Masjid at Patha.



Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31:

VIII.—Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyās and the Bhūiyās.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year ending March, 1931, besides making several tours in the different Districts of Chōṭā-Nāgpur to study the various aboriginal tribes of the Division, I made extensive tours in the Gāngpūr, Mayūrbhanj and Keōnjhar States in Orissā and in the Jāshpur State of the Central Provinces to study the Bhūiyās in particular and the other aboriginal tribes of those States in general. I also paid two visits to the Indian Museum to study the additions to its ethnological and archaeological collections. A volume on the Bhūiyās of Orissā is ready for the press, but owing to financial reasons, the printing has been held up.

While preparing my monograph on the Bhūiyās of Oṛissā, I had to look up all available previous literature on this interesting tribe. Although I found that such literature as existed was disappointingly meagre, I came across a short article on the tribe by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, a well-known writer of this Province, in which a novel theory of the history and migrations of the Bhūiyās and, incidentally, of the origin of the name of the country now known as Chōṭā Nāgpur is propounded. That article was published in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta in the year 1907.

In that article, the learned author laid down the following propositions:—

- (1) That Chōṭā Nāgpur was first colonised by the Bhūiyā tribe about the 6th century, A.D., when the Bhūiyās included or were associated with a class of 'legendary heroes' called Chūṭiās.
- (2) That the Bhūiyās were worshippers of the $N\bar{a}g$ or cobra, and that these legendary Chūṭiās and $N\bar{a}g$ -worshipping Bhūiyās contributed to the name 'Chūṭiā Nāgpur' for the country they then ruled or dominated.

(3) That the ancestors of the present-day Mūṇḍās and Hōs or Lāṛkā Kōls, entered the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau later and expelled the Bhūiyās and Chūṭiās from Chōṭā-Nāgpur, whereupon the Bhūiyās and Chūtiās went eastwards through Mānbhum and West Bengal to East Bengal and Assam, and became the 'Bāṛō-Bhūiyās' of Bengal and Assam, and the Chūṭiās of Assam.

In the present paper I shall not deal with the question of the original habitat and subsequent migrations of the Bhūiyās, as this has been elaborately dealt with in my forthcoming monograph on that tribe.

I shall here discuss the different theories as to the origin and correct form of the name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur', of which Mr. Mazumdar's startling theory is the latest and most novel one.

Three different derivations have been so far given for the name of the country known as Chōṭā Nāgpur. The first and earliest and generally accepted theory is that the country came to be called 'Nāgpur' after its Nāgbaṁśi Rājās, and that in order to distinguish it from the more important Nāgpur of the Bhoṇslā Rājās in the adjoining 'Central Provinces', it came to be called 'Chōṭā' or the 'Lesser' Nāgpur. The second and later derivation sponsored or rather originated by Dalton and Blochmann some sixty years ago, which found favour for some time, is that the country was named after the village Chūṭiyā, a village in the suburbs of the town of Rānchi, which was once the seat of the fourth Nāgbaṁśi Rājā.

The third and most recent and novel theory is that advanced by Mr. Mazumdar who has attempted to support his theory by various historical, philological, and ethnological arguments. I shall attempt to show in this paper that Mr. Mazumdar's derivation of the name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur' from the 'legendary Chūṭiās' and the 'Nāg-worshipping Bhūiyās', like his attempted identification of the 'Bāṛō Bhūiyās' and the 'Chūṭiās' with the tribal Bhūiyās, rests on no solid foundation.

If we trace the origin and history of the name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur' or 'Chūṭiā Nāgpur' we shall find that the name is one of comparatively recent origin, and appears to have been first coined by the early British administrators of the country. The Muhammadan rulers of India called the country as 'Kokerā' or 'Kokhrā', whereas in Hindu times it was included in Jhārkhand or the Forest Country. And it was after the British occupation of the country that the present name Chōṭā Nāgpur came into vogue.

I. 'Nāgpur', 'Chōtā-Nāgpur' and 'Chūṭiā Nāgpur'.

The generally accepted view, which I hope to show is the correct one, is that the country came to be called Nagpur from its present Nāgbamśi Rāj family and that it was by the earliest British officers in the country that the term Chōtā or Chhōtā (Little or Lesser) came to be prefixed to the name from about the latter part of the eighteenth century. This prefix was added to distinguish it from the then more famous Nagpur of the old Bhonslā Rājās, which together with what is now Chōṭā Nāgpur proper was placed within the military and political jurisdiction of one and the same British officer. As late as in 1841, we find Lieutenant Tickell, then Assistant Political Agent of the Singbhum District of Chota Nagpur, in a paper contributed by him to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1 referring to the remains of a large city in what he calls 'Burra-Nagpoor' (or the 'Bigger Nagpur', now capital of the Central Provinces) obviously so named to distinguish it from Chōtā Nāgpur, and speaking of Major Wilkinson as the then Resident of Burra-Nagpur. This derivation would appear to be the more probable one when we enquire into the different names by which the country has been successively known at different times.

In pre-Muhammadan times what is now Chōṭā Nāgpur was vaguely known to the Hindus as part of Jhāṛkhaṇḍ or the 'Forest tract', and its people vaguely known as belonging to one or other of the classes indefinitely termed in the Purāṇas and in more ancient Samskrit works as the 'Savaras', 'Puliṇdas', 'Niṣādas'.

In Moghul times when the country first attracted the attention of the Moghul Emperors, it came to be called *Kokrāh* from the name of the Parganā and village still known as *Khūkrā*,

which was then the seat of the Raja of Chota Nagpur, but by the local people it was generally called Nagpore or Nagpur (which presumably was the name given to it by the Rāj family). In three Muhammadan (Persian) works, the Aini-i-Akbari, the Akbarnama, and the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (the first two written in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the last one in the first half of the 17th century) references to the country have been traced. The name by which it is mentioned in those works is Kokrah. In the Akbarnama the name Jhārkhand is applied to the entire country from Birbhum and Pachet (Manbhum) on the east to Ratanpur in Central India in the west, and from Rohtasgarh on the north-west to the frontiers of Orissa on the south-east. Kökrāh, or Chötā-Nāgpur proper, is described as 'a well-cultivated district between Orissā and the Dak'hin, ruled over by Madhu Singh', but 'inaccessible'. And the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri informs us that 'the river which flows through it yields diamonds'.

In some Persian and Urdu documents of the last century, the country is described as 'Nagpur *Khoord*' or the 'Little Nagpur' and neither Chūṭiā Nāgpur nor Chōṭā Nāgpur. To this day, the indigenous inhabitants of the country generally call the central plateau as simply 'Nāgpur'.

In Official Reports and other publications of the earlier years of British rule,—from the seventies of the eighteenth century down to the forties of the nineteenth century,—we find the country named generally as 'Nagpore' and in a few instances as 'Chota Nagpore' or 'Chotta Nagpur'. In a few cases also we find the name spelt as 'Chuta Nagpore' which is obviously a mis-spelling due to mispronunciation by foreigners of the word 'Chhota' or 'little', as similar contemporaneous mis-spellings of numerous other names would appear to indicate. In some cases, as I have said, the name 'Chota Nagpore' also In one instance only to which I shall presently refer in detail the name was mis-spelt as 'Chutea Nagpur'. That 'Chuta' and 'Chutea' were mis-spellings of the word 'Chota' will be clear from the English equivalents of 'Chuta' given by some early writers as 'Little' or 'Lesser'. Since the year 1854, when Ricketts (Member of the Board of Revenue) made his tour of inspection in Chōtā Nāgpur, down to the present

day, the name has been invariably spelt first as 'Chōtā-Nāgpore' and later as 'Chōtā-Nāgpur' in all official papers, published as well as unpublished.

The first settlement of revenue with the then Chōṭā-Nāgpur Rājā (Drip Nath Sahi) was made on behalf of the East India Company in the year 1771 A.D. for a term of three years, and in the $P\bar{a}ti\bar{a}$ or lease granted by the Government and the Kabuliyat executed by the Rājā, the country was simply described as 'the Pergunnah of Nagpore'; and this name was repeated in all the successive Pattās and Kabuliyats and all Government correspondence regarding these settlements.²

The next available reference to the country that I have come across in published letters, despatches, consultations and reports of the British Government appears to be Captain Camac's letter to the Governor at Fort William at Calcutta, containing a 'narrative of the Pallamow and Nagpore countries,' dated Ramgur, 12th August, 1774. In this, too, the country is named simply as 'Nagpore'.

James Rennell, Major of Engineers and Surveyor-General in Bengal, in sheet No. 8 in the volume of *Bengal Atlas*⁴, prepared in 1779 A.D. and published in 21 plates in the year 1781 A.D., gives the spelling of the name of the country as 'Chuta Nagpur' in the body of the map itself, and 'Chuta Nagpur' in the Dedication.

Rennell, who, as scientific explorer and topographical expert, must have taken care to see that the names are accurately recorded may be presumed to have discriminated between names differing in pronunciation however slightly. When we find him spelling the name of the country as 'Chuta Nagpur' and the name of the village (from which the country has been

² Vide Papers Relating to Chota-Nagpur Agrarian Disputes (Published by the Bengal Government), Part I, pp. 53 ff, and also Part II, and Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XX.

³ Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers, preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India (1772–1785), Edited by G. W. Forrest, Vol. I, pp. 1 and 5 (1890).

⁴ Map of the Conquered Province on the South of Bahar containing Ramgur, Palamow and Chuta-Nagpur, prepared in 1779.

supposed by some later writers to have derived its name) as 'Chutteah', we may be justified in thinking that in his time, at any rate, the country was not known as either 'Chutteah Nagpur' or 'Chutiya Nagpur' or 'Chutea Nagpur'. The spelling 'Chuta' would appear to represent a foreigner's mispronunciation of the name 'Chōṭā'. In the same map of Chōṭā-Nāgpur we find 'Doorma' for 'Dorma', 'Suunpour' for 'Sonpur', and so forth.

The next published official report is the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company which was prepared and signed in 1789 and published in London in 1812. In the body of the Report 5 itself, there is no mention of Chōtā Nāgpur but only of 'Ramghur' in which District it was then included; and in the Minutes and Resolutions, it is named simply as 'Nagpore'. But in Appendix No. 4, which is headed 'Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal' prepared by Mr. James Grant, we read, "Pacheet, bounded by Chutea, Nagpoor and Ramgur, the southern districts dependent on the Soubah of Bahar".7 And in the Supplement to the 'Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal, from the Moghul conquest to the present time', Mr. Grant writes:--"A third, and elevated adjoining region, still further to the south, forms a part of Soubah Behar, no less extensive than either of the former, as containing near 18,000 square miles, though proportionably of very inconsiderable This highland district, including the modern Subvalue. divisions of Palamow, Ramgur, and Chutea Nagpoor, bounded on the east by Bengal, hath since the age of Ptolemy been geographically named the three Bellads or Cantons in Arabic. and from which its modern denomination of Velyat, may be either a corruption if not derived from another root of the same language, modified to express a foreign dependent Government.

"It is also, sometimes generally described under the appellation of Kokerah, more commonly called Nagpoor, from

⁵ Fifth Report (Reprinted by Higginbotham & Co., Madras, 1883), Vol. I, pp. 1-98 contain the Report on the Finances of Bengal.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 221-554. 7 Ibid., p. 254.

the diamond mines of that place, as giving most importance to the country, making part of the same mountainous tract of land, barren in almost everything except the most precious jewels in the world; and extending in a devious southerly course from Panna in Budelcund, to Kanjecotah and Golconda; yet perhaps this portion of unfruitful territory might still be more interestingly distinguished, by delineating the character of its inhabitants, who are undoubtedly an original savage race, differing extremely in appearance, religion, language and manners, from the Hindu lowlanders of Hindustan, and whose possession altogether being poor, or thinly peopled, have scarcely ever yielded to the State a revenue exceeding two lacks and a half of rupees."8

And again, "Mokhareje or dismemberment of the following Districts and Pergunnahs from their respective Circars, viz., Behar, 5 mehals of Palamow, Kokerah, etc.—Rupees 1,09,615."9

Another paragraph reads as follows:--"20 Five do. (pergs.), dismembered or reduced in stating the annual jummabandi, viz., 3 pergunnahs of Palamow, etc., 2 mahals of Sultan Gunge, and the Kokerah, together rated for original rent..... 4,78,276." 10

When we find that James Grant in his 'Analysis' spells 'Rajepoot' for 'Rajput' (p. 513), 'Rajeshay' for 'Rajshahi' (p. 264), 'Kokerah' for 'Khukra' (p. 513), 'Rajeboolub' for 'Rajballav' (p. 264), it is clear that the infix 'e' in 'Chutea Nagpoor' must be a mis-spelling for 'Chuta-Nagpur' (meaning 'the Lesser Nagpur'). In the text of the Fifth Report of the Select Committee itself, we meet with any number of the same infixing of the letter 'e'. Thus we have 'Bhauglepore' for 'Bhagalpur' (pp. 34, 52, 87), 'Bundlecund' for 'Bundelkhand' (p. 52), 'Rajēkoomars' for 'Raj-kumars' (p. 61), 'Dinagepur' for 'Dinajpur' (pp. 73, 87, 664), 'Rajeshaye' for 'Rajshahi' (pp. 71, 73, 87), 'Kokerah' for 'Khukra' (p. 543) and so forth. Further, it may be noted that when Chota-Nagpur itself is dealt with, both Grant and the Select Committee spell it as Kokerah (with a superfluous 'e' inserted in the middle).

Appendix No. 5 of the same volume (pages 555–635) is the "Minute of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Shore, on the Permanent Settlement of the lands in Bengal, and proposed Resolutions thereon, recorded on the 18th September, 1789". In this, too, the country is named only as 'Nagpore'. Thus, in paragraph 135 (page 576) of Shore's minute, we read,—"Nagpore.—For the explanations assigned by the Collector, in his letter of June the 20th, 1789, I concur in opinion with him, that the Regulations should not extend to this District." Finally, in the amended Resolutions as proposed by Mr. Shore and passed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council on the 18th September, 1789, the name used is again 'Nagpore'. It runs:—"Nagpore.—That the Regulations do not extend to this District, but that the settlement be continued on the present footing and be extended to a period of ten years."

Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton), who was for some time Superintendent of the Honourable East India Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta, was appointed to make a statistical survey of Bengal. Although he did not live to make a survey of Chōṭā-Nāgpur itself, he incidentally refers to the country as simply 'Nagpur' in his Shahabad Journal. 11

Walter Hamilton in his Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan 12, describes the country under the heading 'Chuta Nagpoor (Little Nagpoor)' and writes:—"This sub-division of Bahar, is designated by the term Chuta (little) to distinguish it from the other Nagpoor possessed by the Bhoonslah Maharatta family, and the name

¹¹ Vide Shahabad Journal, published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XI, pp. 281, 288-290. The names given at the end of the quotation are the authorities whom Hamilton consulted. Roughsedge went to Chota-Nagpur in 1808 to reduce the Raja to a proper state of subjection' and was appointed 'Political Agent' in 1819. Sealy was Magistrate' of the District and Broughton was in charge of military expeditions to and through Chota-Nagpur.

¹² Ibid., p. 240—Second Edition (1928), p. 415.

(Nagpoor) indicates that in the opinion of the natives the territory contains diamonds......(Roughsedge, Sealy, Col. Broughton. 13 etc.) " In his general account of the Province of Bahar (Bihar), he gives the following description of Chōṭā-Nagpur:—"Still further to the south there is a third and elevated region, containing 18,000 square miles, though proportionately of considerable value. The highland includes the modern sub-division of Palamow, Ramghur, and Chuta Nagpoor, bounded on the west by the Soubah of Allahabad, by Gundwana and Orissa, and on the east by Bengal. The last division is geographically termed the three Bellads or Cantons, as is also sometimes described, under the appellation of Kokerah, but more commonly Nagpoor, from the diamond mines it contains, or is supposed to contain". Although this passage is evidently borrowed in part from Grant's Analysis, Hamilton does not follow the incorrect infixing of an 'e' in 'Chuta'.

The same spelling and the same explanation of the name is repeated in Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, first published in 1915.

Thornton in his Gazetteer published in 1854, describes the country under the heading 'Chuta Nagpore or Nagpore the Lesser'.

In official correspondence, reports and despatches from the beginning of British rule up till now the country is never called 'Chutia Nagpoor' or 'Chutia Nagpur' or 'Chutea Nagpur'.

With the kind permission of the Commissioner of the Chota-Nagpur Division, I searched all the old records in his record-room from the beginning of British rule up to date, and in not a single letter, report, or despatch, I found the name spelt as 'Chootiah', or 'Chutiya' or 'Chutia'. In almost all the earlier official correspondence, reports, despatches, etc., down to the year 1831 and, in some, after that, the country is named as 'Nagpore' or 'District of Nagpore', except in three instances, namely, in (1) letter dated 24th March, 1808, from E. R. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgar Battalion to C. S.

¹⁸ Gazetteer of the Territories under the East India Company, Vol. II, p. 366.

Sealy, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgar, (2) letter dated 8th June, 1808, and (3) letter dated October 27th, 1808, the last two being addressed to the Secretary to Government from E. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgarh Battalion.

In the last letter of these in which Captain Roughsedge says that the authority of the British Government remains yet to be established in 'Choota Nagpore', the name, as we see, is spelt as 'Choota Nagpore'. And it is interesting to note that in over half a dozen instances, prior to 1832, the name came to be spelt as 'Chota Nagpore'. These are: (1) Letter dated 13th January, 1819, from G. French, Magistrate of Ramgur to Major E. Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambulpore; (2) Letter from Secretary to Government to the Acting Collector of Ramgur relating to the recovery of arrears due from the Raja of 'Chota Nagpur'; (3) Letter dated the 24th March, 1808, to C. S. Sealy, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgur from E. Roughsedge, Captain, Commanding Ramgur Battalion; (4) Letter dated the 13th January, 1819, from G. French, Magistrate of Ramgur to Major Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambalpur, and (5) Letter dated 15th April, 1819 to Major Roughsedge, Political Agent to the Government, from G. French, Esqr., Magistrate of Zillah Ramgur who informs that "No disturbances occurred in the pargunnah of 'Chota-Nagpur' whilst I was on deputation in that part of my district"; (6) Letter dated 21st April, 1819 from G. French, Esqr., Magistrate of Ramgur to Major E. Roughsedge, Commanding in Sambalpore; (7) Letter dated the 24th December, 1823 to Government from Major Gilbert (who writes that in 1809 Major Roughsedge was employed in special service in 'Chota Nagpore').

Thus, we find the country generally named 'Nagpore' or 'Chuta Nagpore' and occasionally 'Chota Nagpur' till the year 1831. But from 1832 onwards we find the name generally written as 'Chota-Nagpur' and sometimes only as 'Nagpore'. In the year 1832, we find J. Thomason, Deputy Secretary to Government writing to W. Dent, Esqr., on the 12th April, (letter No. 970) informing him:—'The Vice-President in Council is pleased to appoint you to be a Joint Commissioner in concert with Captain T. Wilkinson, for the Settlement of the affairs of

Chota-Nagpur and Palamow'. In that year with the exception of three letters (dated, respectively, the 5th June, the 3rd July and the 27th July) in which we find the name spelt as 'Choota Nagpoor' and one (dated the 12th June, 1832) in which it is spelt as 'Chota Nagpur' and one dated 24th May, 1832, in which it is spelt as 'Chotah Nagpoor' in the address but 'Chota Nagpoor' in the text of the letter, all other letters and despatches of that year and following years that I have examined (several scores in number) spell the name as 'Chota Nagpur'.

By Regulation XIII of 1833, the administration of the Parganas of 'Chota Nagpur, Palamau, Karukdiha, Ramgur, Koruda, Dhalbhum, and portions of Jungle Mahalas' was vested in a new officer designated the 'Governor-General's Agent for the South-Western Frontier Agency' and what is now the Ranchi District came to be designated as the Lohardaga District for which a Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent was appointed and stationed at Lohardaga. Although the official name of the District was changed to 'Lohardaga', we find it still named as either 'Nagpore' or 'Chota Nagpore' in many official documents during the administrative period known as the South-Western Frontier Agency Period. This period lasted from 1834 to 1854, after which the Chota Nagpur Commissionership was created. Of the two well-known official Reports about the history and land-tenures of Chota-Nagpur, one written in 1827 by Cuthbert 14 the then Magistrate of the District, and the other in 1839 by Dr. Davidson 15 the then Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent for Chota Nagpur, the former generally calls it 'Chota Nagpoor', although, in places, the simple name 'Nagpoor' is also used and the latter calls the country simply as 'Nagpoor'.

In 1853-54, Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts, the then Member of the Board of Revenue, made an extensive tour of inspection in the Districts of the then South-Western Frontier Agency including Chota Nagpur, and his report on what is now the Ranchi District is headed 'Chota-Nagpore'. This Report was published by Government in 1855, in the Selections from

¹⁴ Chota-Nagpore Agrarian Reports, Part II, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. VII, pp. 1-34.

the Records of the Bengal Government. Ricketts' Report on 'Chota Nagpore' begins thus:—"The Lohardugga Division of Chota Nagpore comprises an area of about 7,346 square miles and contains 6,78,759 inhabitants. It contains but two Estates,—Nagpore, the property of the Nagpore Rajah, and Palamow, the property of the Government, purchased at a sale for arrears of revenue in 1813". '16 Of the cultivators of the District, Ricketts writes:—"The cultivators are, generally speaking, Coles (Moondeeas, Kureas and Oorwans) and among them some may be found equal in intelligence to the Mahomedans and Hindus of the Bihar Districts, and in diligence and honesty their superiors". '17 The lengthening of the vowel-sound as seen in spelling of the word 'Mundas' with the insertion of two 'e's as 'Moondeeas', the spelling 'Ooraons' for 'Oraons' and 'Kureas' for 'Kharias' is worth noting in this connection.

Mr. Ricketts' Report was followed, probably as a consequence, by the abolition of the South-Western Frontier Agency and the creation, by Act XX of 1854, of the Commissionership of *Chota Nagpur*. And ever since then the country has been uniformly designated as 'Chota Nagpur' in all official documents.

In an article 'On the Antiquities of Sarguja and its neighbourhood' in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XVII (1848), Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Ouseley, Governor-General's Agent for the South-Western Frontier, spells the name as 'Chota Nagpore'. Mr. Justice Campbell in his 'Ethnology of India', first published as a Supplementary Number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 18 also spells the name as 'Chota Nagpore'. And in all Government publications, the same spelling occurs.

It was for the first time in 1866 that Dalton, in an article headed 'The Kols of Chota Nagpur', though designating himself as 'Commissioner of *Chota* Nagpur', first incidentally suggested the name 'Chuttia Nagpore'. In the heading and also in the body of that article, however, he throughout spells the

¹⁶ Selection from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XX. Chota-Nagpore, p. I. Palamow has been since constituted into a separate District of the Chota Nagpur Division.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 36. 18 Vol. XXXV, Pt. II, p. 26.

name as 'Chota Nagpore', but the article opens as follows: 'The country called Chota (or properly Chuttia) Nagpore is the eastern portion of the extensive plateau of Central India'. In the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1869*, Babu Rakhal Das Haldar, Special Commissioner, contributes 'Notes on a Copper-plate Inscription in the possession of certain Kols at (Chota) Nagpur', and in the body of the 'Notes' he uniformly spells the name as 'Chota Nagpur'. In 1870, the geologist Mr. V. Ball, who made extensive tours in the country spelt the name as 'Chota Nagpur'.

It was in 1871 that, for the first time, we find the name spelt as 'Chutia-Nagpur' in three articles in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for that year,—one headed Notes for Muhammadan Historians on Chutia Nagpur by H. Blochmann, Esqr., M.A., a second, headed Rude Stone Monuments in Chutia Nagpur and other Places, by Colonel E. T. Dalton, and a third, headed Notes on Three Inscriptions on Stone found in Chutia Nagpur, by Babu Rakhal Das Haldar (who was an official subordinate and literary follower of Dalton). The suggestion probably emanated from Dalton and was developed by Blochmann who was a geographer and who received certain information (as he himself says) from Colonel Dalton. In justification of his novel spelling, Blochmann writes: 'The Fifth Report on Bengal Finances under the East India Company by Grant, or, as he liked to style himself, Sarishtadar Grant, has still Chutea Nagpur; on Rennel's maps, we find Chuta Nagpoor, and only in modern times, do we find "Chota Nagpur" as if it was the "Lesser Nagpur", in contradistinction to the Nagpur of the Central Provinces. But Chutia (near the modern Ranchi) was the residence of the old Rajahs, and was selected as capital by the fourth in descent from Phani Mukuta. "the serpent crowned", the legendary ancestor of the Chutia Nagvansi Rajahs. Abul Fazal calls Chutia Nagpur by its old name, Kokrah......Grant also uses the name Kokera as an equivalent for Chutia Nagpur'20.

¹⁹ Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, p. 268.

²⁰ Asiatic Society's Journal, Bengal, Vol. XL., Pt. I, pp. 112-13.

I have already pointed out that in Grant's Analysis appended to the famous Fifth Report the spelling 'Chutea' was obviously a mis-spelling, as we find several other wrong insertions of the letter 'e' in other Indian proper names used by him. And thus Sherishtadar Grant's orthography can be no authority for Blochmann's assertion that the true name of the country was 'Chutia' Nagpore. Nor does Blochmann disclose his authority for the assertion that "the name Chota Nagpur is known to be an English corruption of Chutia Nagpore. and that the name is derived from village Chutia near the modern Ranchi which was temporarily the seat of one of the former Rajas of Chota Nagpur". Blochmann is not known to have ever visited Chota Nagpur or Ranchi, as neither did Sherishtadar Grant. Khukra ('Kokhera' of the Mahomedan writers and of Mr. Grant himself) had been the seat of the Rājās of Chōtā-Nāgpur for several generations and it was still the capital when the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi first came in contact with the country which ever since then came to be known to the Mahomedan rulers as 'Khukra' (mis-spelt 'Kokera' or 'Kokhra') and to the Mahomedan and Early British rulers as both Khukra or 'Kokerah' and more commonly as 'Nagpur'. Although the Rājā's seat was removed from Khukra to another place called Doesa about the year 1685 A.D., and thence again successively to Bharno and Palkote where the first British officers found the Rājā's seat, the name 'Kokrah' or 'Kokerah' was officially employed until the beginning of the British Government. The first British officers simply used the name 'Nagpoor'. It is significant that it is only after the advent of the British Government who employed one and the same officer as Political Agent for the South-Western Frontier Agency whose jurisdiction extended from Chōtā Nāgpur to part of the Central Provinces that the name Chōtā-Nāgpur came to be first applied to what was till then known simply as 'Nagpur' in order to distinguish it from the more important Nagpur in the Central Provinces. I have already noted that we find the name 'Burra Nagpoor' sometimes applied in official documents to Nagpur in the Central Provinces.

As we have seen, it was Dalton who, though in his earlier writings he spelt the name as 'Chota Nagpur', first suggested, in 1866, that the proper spelling should be 'Chutia Nagpur', but did not then adopt that spelling himself. He was obviously strengthened in his view by the opinion of the geographer Blochmann, and in his subsequent contributions to Journals and in his Ethnology of Bengal he boldly adopted the new spelling. And Blochmann and Dalton were blindly followed by some other distinguished writers such as the geologist Ball, the historian Hunter, and the ethnologist Risley. The authors of the Ranchi Settlement Report (1914) and of the Ranchi District Gazetteer (1917), though they spell the name as 'Chōtā Nāgpur', suggest, without assigning any reasons, that the derivation of the name from village 'Chutia' may be probable. The author of the District Gazetteer is mistaken in thinking that Chutia 'is reputed to be the original home of the Nagbansi Chiefs', for the reputed original home was a village named Sutiambe, and he himself notes at page 260 of the Gazetteer, that 'Sutiambe is said to have been the seat of the family for four generations, the fourth Raja, Partab Rai, moving to Chutia, but the traces of an ancient palace (i.e., at Sutiambe) appear to indicate a longer period of occupation'.

Thus, all available evidence points to 'Chōṭā Nāgpur' and not 'Chutia Nagpur', being the proper and correct spelling of the name of the country which until the British occupation of the country and for some time after it, was simply called 'Nagpur'. It may be noted that the indigenous inhabitants of the Rānchi District still call the country as simply 'Nāgpūr'.

However that may be, whether Grant's orthography of the name was a mis-spelling due to mispronunciation by a foreigner who never visited Chōtā-Nāgpur, and the generally accepted derivation of the name as 'Chōta' or 'Lesser' Nāgpur be correct, or whether Blochmann's spelling and his derivation of the name from village 'Chuṭiā' be correct, neither of the two derivations would go to support Mr. Mazumdar's derivation of the name from a legendary class of heroes of the name of 'Chutias' and the 'Nag-worshipping Bhuiyas'. This derivation

has neither history nor tradition nor folk-etymology in its favour.

II. The Chūțiās, the Bhũiyās, and Chōṭa-Nāgpur.

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has opined that the Bhūiyās with the Chūṭiās were the earliest inhabitants of Chōṭā Nāgpur, and that the Muṇḍās pushed them from the central plateau (Rānchi District) of Chōṭā Nāgpur to Mānbhum whence some sections of them went to Bengal and Assam ²¹, and the Hōs or the Lāṛkā Kōls pushed the remaining sections from Singbhum in the south of Chōṭā Nāgpur to Utkala or Ōṛissā. This account of the early history of Chōṭā Nāgpur and the past migrations of the Bhūiyās would appear to be as unfounded and untenable as the supposed derivation of the name of Chōṭā Nāgpur from the Chūṭiās and the Bhūiyās.

Within my thirty years of investigation into the ethnology of the different tribes of Chōtā Nagpur I have never heard of any mention of the name of a tribe or a class of 'heroes' of the name of Chūtiās, except that among the several hundred clans or septs into which the Munda tribe is divided, there is an insignificant clan of the name of Chutiā (small rat). It is worth noting that in the list of clan names of the Mundas given in the Family Annals the Nāgbamśi family the Chūtiā clan is not mentioned at all, nor is there any mention of the Bhūiyās 22. I do not know if Mr. Mazumdar had in his mind the legend referred to by me in The Mundas and Their Country 23 which speaks of the appointment of one Sutiā Mūndā as the tribal headman or Pradhan (corrupted into Pāhān, meaning 'priest') of the tribe during their migrations and their settlement on the Chōtā Nāgpur plateau, then infested with Nag (cobra) snakes which they destroyed, and thereafter the country coming to be named as Sutiā Nāg Khand after their legendary leader Sutiā Pāhān, After giving two other more genuine traditions of their

²¹ Modern Review for 1907, pp. Aborigines of Central India, p. 31.

²² See Man in India, Vol. VIII, pp. 259-293.

²⁸ Appendix I, p. xii.

migrations, I cited that legend, for what it was worth, with these words of preface:- 'More ambitious, though obviously less authentic, is the following legend which was communicated to us by a Munda convert to Christianity.... The influence of a knowledge of Bible History and of the early European accounts of the Kolarian tribes is patent on the face of the legend'. might be added that the inveterate attitude of the Mundas to harp on their lost proprietary rights in their country is partly responsible for portions of the legend which I then merely characterised as its 'excrescences' such as the origin of the name of the country. But even in this legend there is no mention of any tribe or sub-tribe of the name of Chūtiās. Nor, as I said, is there any tradition whatsoever among the Mundas or the Nagbamsi Raj family 24 of Chota Nagpur or, in fact, amongst any section of the population of Chōtā Nāgpur, of the past dominance or even existence (apart from the name of an insignificant Munda clan) of any tribe of the name of Chūtiās in the country.

Nor does there appear to be any justification for the view that the Bhūiyās occupied the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau before the Mūṇḍās entered the plateau.

I do not know what reasons Mr. Mazumdar has for his assertion that the Bhūiyās and Chūṭiās had established their sovereignty over 'Chūṭiā Nāgpur' and that the Mūṇḍās and Lāṛka Kōls agree in their tradition that they established their colonies by driving out the Bhūiyās. This may, to some extent, be true of the Hōs in the western and southern parts of the Singbhum District, which adjoin the Ōṛissā States of Keoñjhar and Mayurbhanj. But so far as Chōṭā Nāgpur proper or the central plateau or the Rānchi District is concerned, the uniform traditions of the Mūṇḍās speak of an ancient and powerful race called the Asūrs ²⁵ as having occupied the country before the

²⁴ Risley in his *Tribes and Castes* (Vol. II, pp. 102-9) gives a list of as many as 339 sept or clan names, but even those are by no means exhaustive. I have collected a number of additional clan names.

²⁵ Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, I, 229 ff., VI, 393 ff, X.

Mūṇḍās came, and their male population as having been destroyed by a stratagem by the Mūṇḍās. Many Mūṇḍās whom I have questioned about it resent the suggestion that the Bhūiyās occupied the country before them. And even the Bhūiyā families now living on the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau do not lay any claim to have been the original reclaimers of the soil there, much less to any predominance in the land in the past.

All investigators and authoritative writers on the subject such as Dalton 26, Hunter 27 and Risley 28 are unanimously agreed on the priority of the Munda occupation of Chota Nagpur plateau. In the Settlement Report of the Ranchi District (1902-10) 29 we read, 'There is no doubt that the Mundas were the first comers'. So too in the District Gazetteer (1917) of Ranchi 30 we are told, 'There is little or no doubt that the Mundas were the first to come'. The traditions of all the tribes and castes. including the Bhūiyās, of the Rānchi District or the central plateau of Chōtā Nāgpur agree in attributing to the present tribe of Mundas the foundation of its earliest villages after the extermination or absorption of the pre-historic Asuras. The Bhūiya families now found in the Ranchi District name either the Singbhūm District or the Hāzāribāgh District as their ancestral home. One very strong argument against the Bhūiyā dominance in the Central plateau of Chota Nagpur anterior to its occupation by the Mundas is to be found in the fact that although there are now some Bhūiyā families scattered in different parts of the plateau, no Bhūiyā is employed as a priest to appease the village spirits, or credited with any special magical powers. In fact, such Bhūiyās as are still found in the district generally occupy a very low social position there. All field-workers in Chōtā Nāgpur ethnology know that its animistic tribes almost invariably employ the present-day descendants of the earliest known inhabitants of a village to propitiate the village spirits.

²⁶ Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 163 ff.

²⁷ Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XVI.

²⁸ Tribes and Castes of Bengal.

²⁹ Final Report of Survey and Settlement in the District of Ranchi, p. 13.

⁸⁰ p. 21.

VOL. XVIII. PT. I.] CHŌŢĀ-NĀGPUR, CHŪŢIYĀS AND BHŪIYĀS. 69

By virtue of their being the original settlers, they are considered to have the best knowledge of local spirits and, as such, to be the most competent persons to propitiate or control them. This is why even in Orāon villages which may contain a single family of its old Mūṇḍā founders, the priestly functions must be performed by a member of such Mūṇḍā family. Similarly, in some of the Ōṛissā States, where the Bhūiyās are among the earliest settlers, we find the Bhūiyās officiating as priests of certain ancient shrines.

Thus, Mr. Mazumdar's statement that the Bhūiyās were 'the first batch of immigrants of Chōtā Nāgpur' has no foundation except perhaps with regard to its southernmost district of Singbhum.

After asserting that the Bhūiyā tribe formed 'the first batch of Munda immigrants in Chōta Nāgpur', Mr. Mazumdar goes on to say,—" What is most interesting to us is that [at] the time when these things happened, Kokra was the old local name of Chutia Nagpur, and in Hindu Purans of very late date we find this tract included in what is called Jharkhanda. name Chutia Nagpur is traced to the tribal name of the legendary heroes—the Chutias who once conquered the country. That once the Chutias had a dominating influence there cannot be doubted. We do not find these Chutias, who impressed their name indelibly on the country, throughout the length and breadth of Chutia-Nagpur..... The Chutias, one may naturally infer, must have been driven away from their old home by the Mundas". Again, "The Chutias and Nag-worshippers gave the new name to the country called Jharkhand by the Hindus". And again,—"Like the Mundas, the Bhuiyas of all the different sects claim to belong to Nag-Vamsa...... Under no circumstances will a Bhuiya kill a snake of the Nag species (cobra) ".

Mr. Mazumdar has not explained how the present Rāj family of Chōṭā-Nāgpur happens to be a Nāg-worshipping Nāg-baṁśi. The fact that both the Nāgbaṁśis and the Bhūiyās venerate the Nāg or cobra serpent and claim to belong to the 'Nāgbaṁś' may prove anything. Many other tribes and castes in India venerate the cobra. If Mr. Mazumdar means to

attribute a Bhūiyā origin to the Nāgbanisi Rāj family, because Dalton ³¹ writes that 'the Raja of Chutia Nagpur is of Kol extraction', it may be pointed out that Dalton as well as other authorities, such as the ethnologists Risley ³² and Russel ³⁸, competent observers like G. K. Webster, ³⁴ I.C.S., and Rakhal Das Haldar, ³⁵ B.C.S., both of whom were Managers of the Chotā Nāgpur Rājā's Estate, assign a Mūṇḍāri origin to the ancestor of the Nāgbanisi family and not a distinctively Bhūiyā origin. True, Buchanan ³⁶ assigned a Cherō origin for the family, but the Cherōs have not been proved to have included the Bhūiyās, though both are branches of the great Kōl race.

But whether the Nāgbamsi Rāj family might have been Mūṇḍās or Cherōs or even Bhūiyās in origin, or whether future research may find some other origin for them, it does not help Mr. Mazumdar in proving his proposition. For, according to his theory, the Bhūiyās, both Rājā and subjects, were expelled from the country by the Mūṇḍās by about the tenth or eleventh century, if not later, and gave place to a new regime, though the old name which the Nāg-worshipping Bhūiyās and their supposed confederates the Chūṭiās gave to the country remained.

Mr. Mazumdar has fallen into error not only as to the origin of the present name 'Chōṭā Nāgpur', but also as to the time when the change in the name was introduced. As we have seen, the name Chōṭā Nāgpur was unknown when according to Mr. Mazumdar the Bhūiyās and the Chūṭiās were the dominant people in Chōṭā Nāgpur. In fact, that name was unknown even during the subsequent long centuries of Mūnḍā predominance or even of Nāgbaṁśi supremacy. In fact, it was after the British occupation of the country that we first hear of the present name 'Chōṭa Nāgpur' or as Mr. Mazumdar would spell it 'Chutia-Nagpur'.

It would appear that Mr. Mazumdar has attempted to reverse the correct chronology or sequence of the successive

³¹ Ethnology of Bengal, p. 162. 32 Castes and Tribes, Vol.

³⁸ Castes and Tribes, Vol. IV, pp. 455-6.

³⁴ Papers Relating to Chota-Nagpur Agrarian Reports, Pt. 11, pp. 33-34.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 103. 36 Martin's Eastern India, Vol. II, pp. 460-61.

names by which the country has been known. The name 'Kokera' or Khūkrā was not known before Moghul times, the name Chōṭā Nāgpur not before British times and the name Nāgpur not before the present Nāgbaṁśi Rāj family became supreme in the land which was long after the Mūṇḍās first came to the country. And neither his legendary Chūṭiās nor the Bhūiyās, much less the predecessors of the 'Bāro-Bhūiyās' had anything to do with Chōṭā Nāgpur or its nomenclature. Thus, Mr. Mazumdar's identification of the Bhūiyās with either the Chūṭiyās of Assam or of the Bārō-Bhūiyās of Bengal and Assam, is highly improbable and, like his derivation of the name 'Chutia Nagpur', has neither history nor tradition nor folketymology in its favour.

Of the Chūtiās, Dalton tells us,—"About the eighth century of our era the Hindu dynasty (on the valley of the Bramhaputra) was overthrown by the Chutia or Kachari hordes" 87. "The Chutia or Kachari dynasty continued to hold southern Upper Assam and Sadiva and part of Naugaon (Nowgong), where they built a fortified city called Dimapur; but about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era they were subjugated by hordes of Shans from the South." 88 Again, "I have pointed out the remarkable linguistic affinities between the Chutia and Bodo or Kachari, and this tradition of their having been driven from Upper Assam by the Ahoms is confirmatory of the common origin of the two races, and the expulsion alluded to must mean the conquest of the Chutia "39. Sir Edward Gait 40 to whose work Mr. Mazumdar refers, writes, "The Chutiyas now number about a twelfth of a million, and are found chiefly in Lakhimpur and the adjacent part of Their language, which is still known to the Deoris or priestly section of the tribe, is unmistakably Bodo, but their appearance suggests that they absorbed considerable numbers of the earlier immigrants of that race, just as in more recent times they have intermarried with the Ahoms".

Again, "The Chutias have numerous traditions, all of which point to their having followed a Hindu dynasty in

⁴⁰ History of Assam (2nd Edition, 1926), p. 40.

Sadiya or Vidarbha...... The Chutiya legends are full of all sorts of improbable absurdities which it would be useless to repeat, and it is questionable how far even the main incidents which are summarised below, represent real facts. All that we know is that the Chutiya kings were reigning at Sadiya at the beginning of thirteenth century, that there were frequent wars between them and the Ahoms, who finally overthrew them and subverted their kingdom in the early part of the sixteenth century".41 Sadiya, in the North-Eastern Frontier of Assam is. as Endle informs us, 'the earliest known centre of Chutiya (Kachari) power and civilisation'. Their language belongs to the Bodo 42 group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages; their features approximate very closely to the Mongolian type, and Tibet and China are believed to have been their original home 48. Tradition names 'Suvarna Giri or the Golden Hill' in the mountains to the north of modern Sadiya as the home of the founder of the Chūtiā kingdom.44 The present scattered condition of the Chūtiās is attributed by Endle to the 'Machiavellian policy of the Ahom rulers' who thus distributed the subjugated race 'in order finally to break up the power of the Chutiyas'.45

In all the traditions of Chūṭiā origin given in Gait's History and Endle's Kacharis and in W.B. Brown's Deori-Chutya Grammar, one seeks in vain for any hint of the Chūṭiās having ever been in Chōṭā Nāgpur or anywhere near it. And, as I have said, there is no tradition to that effect among the Mūṇḍās or any other people of Chōṭā Nāgpur.

In further support of his theory Mr. Mazumdar next seeks the evidence of language and writes,—"It is again very curious that some words which are not at all Sanskritic in origin, and are in use in Sambalpuri Oriya are also in use in the far-off valley of Assam, while they are unknown in the intervening province of Bengal". He then gives a list of the following eleven words:—

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 41-42.

⁴² Endle, The Kacharis (Macmillan, 1911), pp. 4-6.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 3. 44 Ibid., p. 90. 45 Ibid., p. 91.

1 Jui (fire), 2 Au (an acid fruit), 3 Karchali (ladle), 4 Oda (wet), 5 Guda (dust), 6 Olag (bowing down), 7 topa (drop), 8 Dang (a stick), 9 Phal (a portion or side of a thing), 10 Opra (unnecessary thing) and 11 Mealiha (to get a thing).

Most of these words are, as Mr. Mazumdar must admit, common in Bengali. And as for all of them, the fact that they resemble Ōṛiyā words used in Sambalpur does not help Mr. Mazumdar's argument. Most of them are clearly derived from Sanskrit both in Ōṛiyā and in Assamese as in Bengali. And for the rest, they may be either fortuitous phonetic coincidences, or may have been derived from some common Prākrit words, now obsolete.

It may further be pointed out that *Karchhul* is a common word in Eastern Hindusthani for a 'ladle'. ⁴⁶ In Bihari Hindi there is a word *Juhi* ⁴⁷ meaning 'a kind of fireworks'. The word 'dang' ⁴⁸ is a Hindi word used in East Tirhut and Patna to mean 'a short stick'. The word mealiha would appear to have affinity with Hindi milna, to get (a thing) and Bengali mela, to get (a thing).

If any authority is needed, reference may be made to Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray's Bangala Sabda-Kosh (Bengali Dictionary). There we find, kar-chuli is given as meaning 'ladle', and derived from Samskrit kar, hand and chalu, to move '9'; 'odā' as only a corrupt form of the Samskrit word 'ārdra', meaning 'wet'; $g\bar{u}d\bar{a}$ as meaning, powder or dust, and derived from Samskrit $g\bar{u}ndak$ which in Bengali is corrupted into $g\bar{u}nd\bar{a}$ or $g\bar{u}r\bar{a}^{50}$; $top\bar{a}$ has the same meaning ('drop') in Bengali and is derived from Samskrit $sph\bar{u}t$ (by metathesis) '1; $d\bar{a}ng$, meaning a 'stick' is derived from Samskrit 'daṇḍa' '52; the word ' $ph\bar{a}l$ ' is the same as Bengali $ph\bar{a}li^{53}$, an elongated portion or side of a thing, and is derived from Prakrit Samskrit root $ph\bar{a}l$, meaning 'to split'; $\bar{o}pr\bar{a}$ is a variant of Bengali $\bar{u}pri^{54}$ meaning 'extra' or superfluous, from Samskrit upari, high.

⁴⁶ Grierson, Behar Peasant Life (2nd Edition, 1926), p. 60.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 114. 48 Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁹ Bangala Sabda-Kosh, p. 107.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 231. 51 Ibid., p. 378.

⁵² Ibid., p. 389.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 609.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

Ōriyā is not the original language of the Bhūiyās; and, further, such Bhūiyās as still live in Chōṭā Nāgpur speak Chōta Nāgpuri Hindi and not Sambalpuri Ōriyā, and according to Mr. Mazumdar's theory, it is the Chōṭā Nāgpuri Bhūiyās who emigrated to Assam not via Orissā or Sambalpur but via Mānbhum and Bengal. And as for the Chūṭiās of Assam, they are now a bilingual people, whose mother-tongue is not Assamese but Chūṭā which belongs to the Tibeto-Chinese linguistic family.

Mr. Mazumdar's next philological argument is based on the resemblance of two Ahom words similar to Oriva words. He writes, 'In Ahom, "mau-pu" is wife's sister, and this meaning has not been shown to be Mongolian in origin. The word "mau-po" or "mai-po" has the meaning "wife" in Oriva. "Aoshaw" is a Oriva word which means "shampooing". The prefix ao may be a contraction of Samskrit "angan". We get the word "shaw" to mean "shampoo the body" in the Ahom vocabulary, and the Mongolian origin of it has not been mentioned..... Is it not very likely that the Chutias and Bhuiyas who gave these words to their Hindu neighbours of Orissa carried them also to the valley of Assam through Eastern Bengal?' Mr. Mazumdar cannot even point out that the Chūtiās themselves use these two words though they are supposed to have contributed them to the Ahom vocabulary. And even if they did use them, that would prove little. For aught we know, phonetic resemblances like these may be merely fortuitous.

A further linguistic argument advanced by Mr. Mazumdar is based on the name of the priestly section of the Chūtiās of Assam. He writes, "The Bhuiyas in Chota-Nagpur and Orissa have for their priests or wizards the Dehuris or Kalos. Now, the Baro-Bhuiyas and Chutiyas, and so also some other tribes of Assam, have for their priests or wizards the Deoris. That the words Deori and Dehuri do not differ much, need not be pointed out. Can all these be considered accidental?" Now, it may be pointed out, that the words 'Deori' and Dehuri would appear to be derivatives of the Samskrit word 'Deba' (Hindi 'Deo'), a god. In Bengali, Deula is used in the sense

of a servant of an idol. 55 The Sakaldwipi Brāmhans of Bihār have a clan of the name of Deorahi or Deo and another of the name of Deodhi or Deodhiar. 58 The Dravidian-speaking Orāons, like the Mūndā-speaking Mūndās, call a spirit-finder and exorciser (generally a Hindu) by the name of Deoñā or Deoñra. 57 The Santal of the Santal Parganas and Chota-Nagpur call their priest by the name of Dihri. 58 The Hindu caste of Sudhs in the Central Provinces have a sub-caste of the name of Dehuri meaning 'worshippers'. A priest among the Bhumias of the Jeypore Zemindary is called a 'Desari.' 50 Divar 60 is the title of the Dravidian Occhans (also known as Archakas or worshippers) who are a class of temple-priests in the Madras Presidency as far south as Travancore. Ahoms of Assam apply the term 'Deodhai' to their tribal priests. 61 It is not unlikely that the Chūțiās may have derived the term 'Deori' from the Ahom name 'Deodhai' or Bodo term 'Deoshi'. Dalton writes, 'I think I have heard the Kachari priests called Deoris '62.

Mr. Mazumdar puts his final philological argument as follows:—"In the District of Sambalpur there is a sect of the priestly Bhuiyas who call themselves Rikhman or Rikhvan Bhuiyas. What the term signifies they do not know. The Ahoms performed a ceremony at the installation of a new king which was called Rikhvan ceremony. As the ceremony was performed by the Deoris, I suspect that it was a thing of local adoption by the Ahoms".

Here, again, Mr. Mazumdar is mistaken in his facts. Rikhman is not the name of the priestly Bhūiyās nor, in fact, is there any sect of priestly Bhūiyās. A priest or exorciser, called in some parts of the Bhūiyā country as Dihuri, in some

⁵⁵ J. C. Ray, Bangala Sabda Kosh, p. 467.

⁵⁶ Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. II, Appendix I, p. 22.

⁵⁷ S. C. Roy, Oraon Religion and Customs, p. 254.

⁵⁸ Santal Parganas Gazetteer (1910), p. 108.

⁵⁹ Thurston, Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, p. 238.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 125; Vol. V, pp. 419-20.

⁶¹ Gait, History of Assam, p. 73.

⁶² Dalton, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 85.

parts as Kalo and in some as Pāhān, may belong to any Bhūiyā clan, and Rikhiāsan is the name of one of many such 'clans'.

In fact, the Bhūiyās of the Gayā and Hāzāribāgh Districts, and of the northern and central parts of the Rānchi District, who belong to different clans such as Māhātōār, Dānroār, Magāhiā, etc., say that 'Rikman' or 'Rikh-muni' was the name of the first ancestor of the tribe and identify him with their chief deity or Bīr known as Tulsi Bīr. This 'Rikhman' is said to have lived in 'Maner Patna' or village Maner near Patna. Another derivation which I have heard from some Bhūiyās of the Rānchi and Hāzāribāgh districts is that the name 'Rikhman' comes from the Samskrit words 'Rishi' and 'Muni' and that as their ancestors lived on roots and fruits like ancient Hindu saints (Rishi-Munis), they were so named.

The Bhūiyās of the Mirzāpur District call themselves Rikhasan- (or Rikhman-) Bhuiyas, and trace their descent from two Rishis or Munis. Thus, we are told, 63..... "Their legend in Mirzapur runs that two ancient sages, Moma Rishi and Kumbha Rishi, had each a son known respectively as Bhad or Bhadra and Mahesh. Bhad practised austerities in the forests of Magadha or Bihar, and his cousin Mahesh attended on him. Bhad once sat between two nim (melia azadirachta) trees, and when he felt hungry ate the bark. The Bhūiyās hence know him as the Nim Rishi. Mahesh went into the forest every morning to collect roots and fruits. Half he used to eat himself, and half he kept for his cousin. When Bhad had spent twelve years in these austerities, the Lord tempted him by sending to him one of the nymphs of heaven. She used to make some halwa out of flour, butter and sugar and stick it on the bark of the tree beneath which Bhad sat. Bhad knowing nothing of this used to eat it with the bark which formed his daily food. Finally his eyes were opened and he saw the lady. He fell in love with her and took her to wife, and had seven sons, from whom are descended the Magahiya, Tirvak, Dandwar, Dhelwar, Musahar, and Bhuinhar or Bhuiyar septs. From their descent

⁶⁸ Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1896), p. 71.

from the Rishi the Bhuiyas often call themselves Rikhiasan Bhuiyas. The fruits and roots which Mahesh collected he sowed in the Mirzapur jungles, and since then they have begun to grow there".

The 'Rikhvan' ceremony, to which Mr. Mazumdar refers, was an Ahom ceremony for obtaining long life (from Ahom 'rik,' revive, and 'khoan', life) and was generally performed at the installation of a new king, or in time of danger, or after a victory. And the officiants were not Chūṭiā Deoris but Ahom Deodhāis (tribal priests) and Mohans (Pandits) and Bailongs (astrologers).64

Thus Mr. Mazumdar's assertion that "The name Chutia-Nagpur is traced to the tribal name of the legendary heroes—the Chutias who once conquered the country", has no foundation in fact. There is no evidence that the Chūṭiās ever came to Chōṭā-Nāgpur or near it. In fact, all authorities agree in holding that the Chūṭiyās entered Assam from the north and north-east of that country and not from its south or southwest.

As we have seen, there appears to be no basis for the contention that the Bhūiyās were the earliest settlers of the Mūndā stock on the Chōtā Nāgpur plateau and were allied to or ever associated with the Chūtiās of Assam, and dislodged from Chōtā Nāgpur plateau by the Mūndās. Nor is there any foundation for the contention that any people of the name of Chūtiās were ever dominant in Chōtā Nāgpur. It follows that the country does not owe its name of Chōtā Nāgpur to Mr. Mazumdar's legendary Chūtiās. We have already seen that it was from its 'Nāgbamsi' Rājās that the country came to be called 'Nagpur', and it was much later during Moghul rule in India, that the name 'Kokera' or 'Kokhra' was applied to it in Muhammadan records alone, and that it was either towards the end of Moghul rule or the beginning of British rule that it came to be called 'Chōtā' or 'Lesser' Nagpur to distinguish it from the other Nagpur in the Central Provinces which then rose into prominence under its

Bhonslā Rajas, and that the spelling of the name as 'Chutia Nagpur' is a mistake for the correct spelling 'Chōtā Nāgpur' or 'Chhōtā Nagpur', and neither the village of 'Chūtiā' nor the legendary 'Chūtiās' of Mr. Mazumdar nor the ancestors of the present Chūtiā tribe of Assām have had anything to do with the origin of the name.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Vîr Varshal.'

There is a $b\bar{a}t$ or ballad sung in the Punjab by *Dhadhis* who are mendicant-musicians. They play on a one-string ($ek\ t\acute{a}r\acute{a}$) instrument or $S\bar{a}rang\hat{\imath}$, and like the ballad of King Rasalu and Sirkap they sing a ballad of a king ' $V\hat{\imath}r\ Varshal$ ' by name, $V\hat{\imath}r\ [=V\hat{\imath}ra]$ in Punjabi means 'hero'. $V\hat{\imath}r\ Varshal$ was the king of the territory on this side of the Ravi and the other side was held by another king who was his enemy but whose daughter he ($V\hat{\imath}r\ Varshal$) ultimately married. The ballad is mainly a love-story of $V\hat{\imath}r\ Varshal$ and $V\hat{\imath}r\ Varshal$'s war with the king (whose name I have not yet learnt). $V\hat{\imath}r\ Varshal$'s friend was $Ch\bar{a}nak$. $V\hat{\imath}r\ Varshal$ was a Hindu, while his enemy was a foreigner.

Now, here, for the first time we get the popular and preimperial personal name of Chandra-Gupta Maurya as 'Varshal' which is rendered in Mudrā-Rākshasa as Vrishala (lit., 'powerful'). Some gentlemen in the Punjab should record the ballad. The foreigner king was evidently Seleukos.

K. P. J.

II.—A Correct Chronology of Delhi History, 1739-1754.

By Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

[All the dates in this table are given in the Old Style or unreformed Calendar, which was observed in England till 2nd September, 1752, when it was reformed by adding eleven days, so that the day following 2nd September was reckoned as 14th September. France and Holland had adopted the reformed or New Style in December, 1582.]

1739.

- 5 May. Nādir Shāh begins his return march from Delhi. [Anand, 83.]
- 13 May. Muhammad Shāh holds his first public darbār after his restoration. [D.C.]
- 18 May. Md. Ishaq Khan appointed Diwān-i-khālsa with the title of Mutaman-ud-daulah. Is granted the māhi-wamurātib on 8 Nov. [Siyar, ii. 99.]
- 21 May. Dānishmand Kh. app. Khān-i-sāmān vice Lutfullah. [D.C.]
- 3 June. Asad Yar Kh. app. darogha of harkarahs. [D.C.]
- 12 June. Sa'duddin Kh. (already $Mir \ \bar{A}tish$) app. $Kh\bar{a}n$ -i- $s\bar{a}m\bar{a}n$ also vice Dānishmand deceased. [D.C.]

- 3 April. Āsaf Jāh (Nizām) marches out of Delhi; halts in suburb. [Siyar, iii. 3.]
- 10 April. Sarfarāz (subahdār of Bengal) slain; Alivardi succeeds. [Bengal letter, 4 Aug., 1740; Siyar, ii. 104.]
- April. Maratha raiders approach Benares, retreat in May. [Beng. let., 3 Jan., 1741.]
- 12 April. A'bdul Majid app. Diwān-i-khālsa. [D.C.]
- 18 April. Md. Ishaq Kh. dies. [Siyar, iii. 3.]
- 28 April. Baji Rao I dies. [Siyar, iii. 3, corrected by Sardesai, ii. 391.]

- 27 July. Nizam begins his march from Delhi to Deccan. [Siyar, iii. 3.]
- Dec. Alivardi marches against Rustam Jang, deputy governor of Orissa. [Siyar, ii. 108.]

- 3 March. Alivardi defeats Rustam Jang at Fulwari (near Balasore), and then enters Katak. [Beng. let., 26 July, 1741.]
- 23 July. Āsaf Jāh defeats his son Nāsir Jang near Aurangabad. [Siyar, iii. 3; Sarw-i-Azad, 179.]
- August. Baqar 'Ali seizes Katak from Alivardi's deputy Saulat Jang. [Beng. let., 11 Dec., 1741.]
- December. Alivardi defeats Baqar 'Ali near Katak and recovers the province. [Beng. let., 23 Dec., 1741.]

1742.

- 16 April. Bhāskar Pandit surrounds Alivardi at Burdwan. [Maharashtra Puran; Beng. let., 31 July, 1742.]
- 30 April. Alivardi reaches Katwa fighting. [Ibid.]
- 5 May. Marathas plunder suburbs of Murshidabad;
- 6 May. Alivardi arrives at Murshidabad, Marathas retreat. [*Ibid.*; Beng. let., 8 Jan., 1743.]
- June. Marathas return from Pachet and encamp at Katwa. [Beng. let., 30 Oct., 1742.]
- June. Marathas capture Hughli and occupy West Bengal. [Beng. let., 31 July, 1742.]
- 26 Sep. Alivardi surprises and routs Bhāskar at Katwa. [Maharashtra Puran; Siyar, ii. 126.]
- c. 7 Dec. Safdar Jang (subahdar of Oudh) reaches Patna. [Beng. let., 18 Dec., 1742]; he sets out on return about 15 Jan., 1743. [Beng. let., 30 Jan., 1743; Siyar, ii. 127.]
- Dec. Alivardi, after driving the Marathas beyond the Chilka lake, halts at Katak. [Beng. let., 8 Jan., 1743.]

1743.

5 Jan. Emperor Muhammad Shah falls seriously ill. [Siyar, iii. 5; Beng. let., 3 Feb., 1744.]

- c. 10 Feb. Alivardi reaches Murshidabad from Katak. [Beng. let., 15 Feb., 1743.]
- c. 13 Feb. Bālāji Rāo (Peshwa) enters Bihar. [Beng. let., 13 Aug., 1743; Siyar, ii. 127.]
- c. 8 March. Balaji's envoys meet Alivardi. Raghuji Bhonslé (on invasion) is in Rāmgarh (Hazaribagh.) [Akhbarat.]
- 26 March. Maratha ditch at Calcutta begun. [Beng. let., 3 Feb., 1744.]
- 31 March. Interview between Balaji and Alivardi at Palāshi (Plassey). [Akh.; Beng. let., 13 Aug., 1743.]
- 15 April. Balaji takes leave of Alivardi for pursuing Raghuji. Raghuji goes to Medinipur. [Akh.]
- 24 April. Alivardi at Katwa. Haibat Jang (Deputy Governor of Bihar) is sent back to Patna. [Akh.]
- 20 June. S'aduddin Kh. (Kh-i-saman and Mir Atish) dies. [Siyar, iii. 5.]
- 21 June. Dr. 'Ulavi Kh. reaches Delhi for treating Emperor. [Bayan, 205.]
- 23 June. Häfizuddin (S'aduddin's son) app. Khān-i-sāmān and Mir Atish. [Siyar, iii. 8; Bayan, 231.]
- c. 15 Aug. Emperor summons the leading nobles from the provinces to Court. [Siyar, iii. 5.]
- 21 Sep. Sawai Jay Singh (of Jaypur) dies. [Siyar, iii. 5, corrected from Narendra Singh.]
- 7 Nov. Amir Kh. (subahdar of Allahabad) received in audience by Emperor. [D.C.; Siyar, iii. 6.]
- c. 13 Nov. Safdar Jang enters Delhi. [Siyar, iii. 6.]
- 17 Nov. Safdar Jang received by Emperor. [Ibid.]
- 18 Dec. Prince Ahmad married. [Siyar, iii. 7.]
- 29 Dec. A comet appears at Delhi. [Ibid.]

- c. 1 March. Bhāskar invades Bengal again. [Beng. let., 3 Aug., 1744; Siyar, ii. 134.]
- 11 March. Safdar Jang app. Mir Atish. [Siyar, iii. 8.]
- 31 March. Bhāskar murdered by Alivardi at Mankarā [Maharashtra Puran; Beng. let., 3 Aug.; Siyar, ii. 135;

Chandernagor to Pondichéry let., 12 May, in Pondi to Comp., 18 Oct. (N.S.)].

24 Sep. Safdar Jang app. subadar of Kashmir vice Asad Yar Kh. [Siyar, iii. 8.]

- c. Jan. Fathchand (Jagat Seth) dies; his grandson Mahtab Rai succeeds. [Beng. let., 9 Feb.]
- Jan. Quarrel between Alivardi and his Afghan general Mustafa Khan begins. [Siyar, ii. 137; Beng. let., 9 Feb.]
- 15 Feb. Emperor issues from Delhi against 'Ali Md. Kh. Ruhela; halts at Luni. [Siyar, iii. 10; Anandram, 204.]
- c. 20 Feb. Mustafa Kh. quits Murshidabad for Patna. [Siyar, ii. 137; Beng. let., 11 Aug.]
- 14-20 March. Battle before Patna city; Haibat Jang defeats Mustafa, who flees away to the west. [Siyar, ii. 142-144.]
- April. Alivardi arrives at Patna, chases Mustafa to Zamania, and then quickly returns to Murshidabad. [Siyar, ii. 144-145.]
- c. April. Raghuji captures Katak city, besieges its fort Barābāti, imprisons Durlabh-rām (the deputy governor), and occupies all Orissa up to Medinipur. [Siyar, ii. 149-150.]
- c. 15 April. Asad Yar Kh. dies. [Siyar, iii. 11.]
- 23 May. 'Ali Md. Ruhela visits Emperor to seek pardon. [Anand, 261.]
- 19 June. Emperor enters Delhi on return from Ruhela war. [*Ibid.*, 287.]
- June. Marathas enter Burdwan district from the south. [Beng. let., 11 Aug.]
- c. 20 June. Mustafa Kh. slain at Karhani (Arrah dist.). [Siyar, ii. 146-147; Beng. let., 11 Aug.]
- 1 July. Zakaria Kh. (subahdar of Lahor and Multan) dies. [Anand, 139.]
- c. 20 July. Marathas leave Murshidabad and Burdwan districts, to canton for the rains in Birbhum. [Beng. let., 11 Aug.]
- 13 Sep. Qamruddin (wazir) dislocates his leg. [Anand, 148.]

October. Raghuji marches from Birbhum for South Bihar. [Siyar, ii. 150-151.]

Alivardi leaves Murshidabad for Patna. [Beng. let., 31 Jan., 1746.]

Raghuji plunders Fatua and moves on to S.W. Bihar. [*Ibid.*; Siyar, ii. 151.]

- 14 Nov. Alivardi attacks Raghuji near Muhib-'ali-pur. [Siyar, ii. 152; S.P.D. letter 74.] Running battle for a week afterwards.
- Early Dec. Raghuji attacks Alivardi (on return march) at Bhagalpur. [Siyar, ii. 153.]
- 21 Dec. Raghuji arrives at Jhapāidaha (Murshidabad dist.) and burns villages. [*Ibid.*]
- 22 Dec. Alivardi arrives six miles from Murshidabad; reaches Amānigani on 26th. [Beng. let., 31 Jan., 1746.]
 - ? Safdar Jang's son Shuja-ud-daulah married to Bahu Begam, daughter of Md. Ishaq Kh. I.

- 3 Jan. Maratha raiders out six miles west of Murshidabad [Beng. let., 31 Jan.]
- 13 Jan. Mir Md. Sharif at Balasore, en route to Murshidabad. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]
- c. 1 Feb. Marathas encamped at Katwa for some time past, many of them on Qāsimbāzār island. [Beng. let., 4 Feb. and 22 Feb., 1746].
- c. 25 Feb. Raghuji vacates Qāsimbāzār island, goes to Kamatpur, but continues to occupy Burdwan dist. Mir Habib and Murtaza Kh. near Vishnupur. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]
- c. 4 March. 'Ataullah with a large force is sent to expel Marathas from Burdwan. [Qāsimbāzār letter, 5 March.]
- March. Raghuji is defeated near Rani's tank (west of Katwa), and, on hearing of disturbances in his own kingdom, hastens there. [Siyar, ii. 153.]
- April. Alivardi returns victorious to Murshidabad. [Pondilet., 31 Jan., 1747 N.S.]

- c. 10 May. Mir Habib plundering near Hijli. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]
 - Marathas again out, carry off grain-bullocks coming from Bhagwangola to Murshidabad. [Siyar, ii. 154.]
- July. Alivardi dismisses Shamshir Kh. and Sardār Kh. (Afghan generals), who go to their homes in Darbhanga. [Pondi. let., 31 Jan., 1747; Siyar, ii. 154 and 156.]
 - Marathas continue at Medinipur during the whole season. [Pondi. let.; Beng. let., 30 Nov.]
- Oct. Emperor promises *chauth* for Bengal, etc., to Marathas by treaty. [Chandernagor let., 24 Nov.; Beng. let., 30 Nov.; S.P.D. let., 29 and 49.]
- c. 10 Nov. Mir J'afar marches to expel Marathas from Orissa. [Beng. let., 30 Nov.]
 - Mir Habib takes Rajah of Kanika and family prisoners. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]
- 21 Nov. Hayātullah (second son of Zakaria Kh.) comes to Lahor and begins to quarrel with Yahiya Kh. (eldest son) for division of patrimony. [Anand, 289.]
- c. 12 Dec. Mir J'afar defeats Sayyid Nur near Medinipur, but does not pursue into Orissa. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747.]
- 25 Dec. Āmir Kh. 'Umdat-ul-mulk murdered. [Siyar, iii. 14; Bayan, 207.]
- End of Dec., 1746 or Jan., 1747. Durlabh-ram is released at Nagpur on payment of ransom. [S.P.D. let., 46.]

- c. 24 Jan. Mir Habib encamps near Balasore, raising batteries to hold the river against Alivardi's forces; continues there the whole season. [Beng. let., 22 Feb., 1747, 24 Feb., 1748.]
- Jan. Janoji approaches from Katak; Mir J'afar falls back from Medinipur to Burdwan, is attacked during retreat.
 - Alivardi hurries up from Murshidabad to Burdwan, defeats Janoji, heads off a Maratha raid on Murshidabad. Janoji retires to Medinipur. [Siyar, ii. 157.]
- 21 March. Hayātullah gets possession of Lahor and imprisons Yahiya Kh. [Anand, 292.]

- April. Alivardi returns from Burdwan to Murshidabad. Treasonable plot of 'Ataullah and Mir J'afar (who are disgraced). [Siyar, ii. 157-158.]
 - 9 June. Nādir Shāh murdered. [Jahān-kushā, 461.]
- 12 June. Āhmad Ābdāli made king of Afghans. [Mujmil, 75.]
- 12 July. Ishaq Kh. II, Najmuddaulah, app. Diwān-i-khālsa. [D.C.]
- Oct. Alivardi encamps at Āmāniganj (outside Murshidabad) for expedition against Marathas of Medinipur. [Siyar, ii. 159].
- c. 10 Dec. Shamshir Kh. and other Afghans at Haibat Jang's invitation leave Darbhanga for Patna; 16—25 Dec., they halt at Hajipur, negotiating with Haibat Jang. [Siyar, ii. 159-160.]
- c. 14 Dec. Abdali leaves Peshawar for Lahor. [Anand, 312.]

- 8 Jan. Qamruddin (wazir) sent from Delhi against Abdali. [D.C.; Anand, 313.]
- 11 Jan. Abdali seizes Lahor. [Anand, 326.]
- 13 Jan. Shamshir Kh. murders Haibat Jang and seizes Patna. [Muzaff. 18.] His Afghans plunder Dutch factory at Fatua. [Beng. let., 24 Feb. and 19 Nov.; Bengal Consultations, 8 Mar.]
- Jan.-Feb. Marathas dispersed in large parties plundering, from Murshidabad to Burdwan. [Ibid.]
- 31 Jan. Prince Ahmad (Timurid) starts from Delhi against Abdali. [Anand, 324.]
- 17 Feb. Qasimbazar boats (laden with silk) for Calcutta, under Ensign English, seized by Marathas at Katwa. Janoji then leaves Katwa for Bhagalpur. [Beng. let., 24 Feb.; Beng. Consult., 25 Feb.]
- 19 Feb. Abdali leaves Lahor for Sarhind. [Anand, 332.]
- 25 Feb. Prince Ahmad arrives near Sarhind. [Ibid., 336.]
- 29 Feb. Alivardi breaks up camp at Amaniganj for marching to Patna. Reaches Komra (25 miles north of Murshidabad)

- on 14 Mar., and passes Sakrigali on 17-18 Mar. [Beng. Consult., 8, 19 and 24 Mar.]
- 2 Mar. Abdali captures Sarhind. [Anand, 337.]
- 11 Mar. Battle of Manupur. Qamruddin (wazir) killed, Abdali defeated. [Ibid., 347-375.]
- 15 April. Emperor Muhammad Shah dies. His son Ahmad Shah is crowned at Panipat on 18th, and enters Delhi on 23rd April. [D.C., Anand, 346-354.]
- 16 April. Alivardi defeats Shamshir at Rāni-sarāi (near Bakhtiarpur). He then enters Patna and continues there till c. 6 Nov.; thence goes to Murshidabad (arriving 30 Nov.), stays at Murshidabad till March, 1749. [Beng. let., 19 Nov., 22 Dec.; Beng. Consult., 26 Mar.; Siyar, ii. 172.]
- 21 May. Asaf Jah (Nizam) dies. [Siyar, iii. 23.]
- 19 June. Safdar Jang invested as wazir. [D.C.]
- 29 June. Sādāt Kh. (Salābat Kh. Zulfiqār Jang) app. *Mir Bakhshi* (with title of Amir-ul-umara) *vice* Nizam. [*D.C.*; *Siyar*, iii. 26.]
- 15 Sep. 'Ali Md. Kh. Ruhela dies. [Gulistan-i-R., tr. by Elliot, 28.]
- c. 15 Nov. Emperor appoints Qutbuddin Md. Kh. faujdār of Muradabad, under Intizamuddaulah. [Siyar, iii. 28; Gulistan, 28.]
- 20 Nov. Safdar Jang shot at in Delhi street. [D.C.] He goes out of Delhi.

- 7 April. Emperor visits Safdar Jang at his house. [D.C.]
- 16 May. Alivardi arrives three leagues from Katak; on 18th enters that city. [Beng. Consult., 24, 27 and 29 May, 17 June, July.]
- 6 June. Alivardi, on return march from Katak, reaches Balasore; hears of Marathas having retaken Katak. He reaches Murshidabad viâ Katwa, c. 2nd July. [Ibid.]
- 21 June. Abhay Singh (Rajah of Jodhpur) dies. [D.C.]
- 30 June. Dr. 'Ulavi Kh. dies. [Bayan, 272; D.C.]
- 12 Nov. Qāim Kh. Bangash (Nawab of Farrukhabad) killed in battle by S'adullah Ruhela at Dumri.

- 22 Nov. Safdar Jang gets conge to go to Farrukhabad. [D.C.]
- 29 Nov. Emperor, with Safdar, marches from Delhi to Koil. He enters Delhi on return on 16 Jan., 1750. [D.C.; Siyar, iii. 30.]
 - 6 Dec. Mirza Muhasan (Safdar's elder brother) dies. [D.C.; correcting Siyar, iii. 29.]
 - 9 Dec. Salābat Kh. (Amir-ul-umara) reaches Pataudi on invasion of Jodhpur and Jat country. [Siyar, iii. 38.]
- 24 Dec. Qāim Kh.'s mother enters Safdar Jang's camp. [D.C.]

- 21 Jan. Ishwari S. defeats Mādho S. [S.P.D., xxi. let. 24.]
- Jan.-June. Alivardi in cantonments at Medinipur. [Siyar, ii.]
- 14 April. Battle between Salābat Kh. and Ram S.; artillery duel. [S.P.D., xxi. let. 27 and 35.]
- June. Three days' fever epidemic in Delhi. [D.C.]
- c. 27 June. Siraj-ud-daulah reaches Patna, attacks the city, but is repulsed. [Siyar, ii. 184.] Alivardi arrives soon afterwards from Medinipur viâ Murshidabad; falls ill, and starts by boat on return.
- 23 July. Safdar Jang gets conge against the Afghans of Mau. [Siyar, iii. 31; D.C. gives 24th.]
- 2 Aug. Nawal Rai slain by Afghans at Khudaganj. [Siyar, iii. 31.]
- 10 Aug. Marhara looted by Safdar's soldiers. [Ibid., 32.]
- 13 Sep. Safdar Jang defeated by Ahmad Bangash at Patari. [D.C.; Siyar, iii. 33.]
- 20 Sep. Safdar Jang arrives on the Jamuna opposite Delhi. [Siyar, iii. 34.]
- Sep. Alivardi recovers after a long illness. [Beng. Consul., 18 Oct.]
- Sep. Salābat Kh. stays in Ajmir, collecting war contribution. [S.P.D., xxi. let. 31.]
- Dec. Salābat Kh. reaches Delhi on return from Rajput war. [*Ibid.*, let. 34; *Siyar*, iii. 40.]
- 5 Dec. Nāsir Jang murdered. [D.C.; Siyar, iii. 43.]
- 12 Dec. Ishwari Singh (Rajah of Jaypur) commits suicide. [Siyar, iii. 43.]

- Dec., 1750-Jan., 1751. Alivardi marches to Medinipur, pursues the Marathas; indecisive fighting. [Siyar, ii. 187.]
 - ? Earthquake in Delhi. [Muzaffari, 37.]
 - ? Wooden mosque in Delhi fort (containing Prophet's relics) burnt. [Ibid., 42; Shakir, 70.]

- 22 Jan. Ghaziuddin Kh. I (eldest son of Asaf Jah) app. Nizam. [Siyar, iii. 43.]
- Jan. Ahmad Bangash lays siege to Allahabad and Mahmud Bangash invades Oudh. [Muzaff. 53; correcting Siyar, iii. 35.]
- Feb.-March. Alivardi Kh. returns from Medinipur to Katwa and opens peace negotiations with the Marathas.
- c. May. He signs a treaty with Raghuji Bhonslé, agreeing to pay chauth (12 lakhs annually) and to assign the revenue of Orissa to him. [Siyar, ii. 187-188; corrected from Chandernagor Correspondence, p. 435.]
- c. 23 March. Safdar Jang starts from Delhi against Ahmad Bangash. [Siyar, iii. 36.]
- c. 1 April. Ahmad Bangash raises the siege of Allahabad. [Ibid.]
- 19 April. Ahmad Bangash and Sadullah Ruhela routed by Marathas and Safdar at Husainpur. [Ibid., 37; D.C.]
- 7 June. Ghazi-ud-din Kh. I app. Mir Bakhshi (Amir-ul-umara) vice Salābat Kh. [D.C.]

This year the rice crop of Bengal perished entirely through lack of rain. [Fr. factory letter.]

- 6 March. Abdali enters Lahor, annexes subahs of Lahor and Multan. [D.C.]
- 1 April. Qalandar Kh., Abdali's envoy, reaches Delhi. [Ibid.]
- 4 May. Ghazi-ud-din I. (Firuz Jang, Amir-ul-umara), Nizam, leaves Delhi for the Deccan. Dies at Aurangabad 16th Oct. [Siyar, iii. 44-45; D.C.]
- 2 July. Safdar Jang enters Delhi city. [Siyar, iii. 45.]

- 24 Aug. Janoji Bhonslé murders Mir Habib. [Chandernagor Corresp., p. 435.]
- 27 Aug. Javid Kh. (eunuch, entitled Nawab Bahadur) murdered by Safdar Jang. [Bayan, 273; D.C.]
- 12 Dec. Imad-ul-mulk (son of Ghazi-ud-din I) app. Mir Bakhshi, with titles of Ghazi-ud-din II, Firuz Jang, Amir-ul-umara and Nizam-ul-mulk. [D.C.]

1753.

- 13 Feb. Abdali's envoy is received by Emperor in Delhi. [D.C.]
- 17 March. Safdar Jang's agent expelled from Delhi fort. [D.C.]
- 26 March. Safdar leaves Delhi city and encamps in the suburbs. [Ibid.]
 - 4 May. Salābat Kh. joins Safdar. [Ibid.]
 - 9 May. Civil war between Safdar and Emperor begins. [Bayan, 277.]
- 13 May. Safdar J. dismissed from wazir-ship. Intizam-ud-daulah (son of Qamruddin) app. wazir. [D.C.]
- 6 Sep. All day long battle between Safdar and Imad in Delhi. [*Ibid.*]
- 23 Sep. Battle at Faridabad; Safdar defeated by Imad. [*Ibid.*]
- 7 Nov. Safdar makes terms with Emperor and begins his retirement to Oudh. [Ibid.; Muz. 75.]
- Nov. Muin-ul-mulk (governor of Lahor on behalf of Abdali) dies. [Siyar, iii. 50.]

1754.

- Jan. Maharana Pratap Singh dies. [D.C.]
- 13 Feb. Soldiers mutiny for arrears of pay in Delhi streets. [D.C.]
 - 9 March. Khandé Rao Holkar slain at siege of Kumbher. [D.C.]
 - 8 April. Badakhshi regiment mutinies. [D.C.]
- 25 May. Emperor's camp at Sikandrabad surprised by Malhar Holkar; wild panic and flight. [D.C.]
- 1 June. Ghazi-ud-din II. (Imad-ul-mulk) app. wazir vice Intizam-ud-daulah. [D.C.]

- 2 June. Emperor Ahmad Shah deposed. 'Ālamgir II crowned. [D.C.; Siyar, iii. 50.]
- 24 June. 'Aqibat Mahmud murdered. [D.C.]
- 5 Oct. Safdar Jang dies. Shuja-ud-daulah succeeds as subahdar of Oudh. [Siyar, iii. 50.]

EVIDENCE FOR SETTLING THE DISPUTED DATES.

- 1739. Ishaq Khan's appointment as Diwān-i-khālsa.—Siyar, ii. 99 is our only authority for the date, 18 May, 1739, and as it was only five days after Muhammad Shah's public restoration to his throne, it seems very probable. The entry in D.C. that on 3 June, Ishaq as dārogha of risālah-i-sultāni, etc., received a bālāband as 'inām, puzzles us. Could such a high officer as the imperial Diwan have retained his former low office of darogha of the prince's contingent? D.C. records that on the same date (3 June) his post of dārogha of the gardens in Delhi was given to another man; this was quite proper.
- writes that the attack was launched on 'Thursday the 17th or 18th Safar.' But Thursday was 21st Safar, while the 17th was a Sunday. But the author supplies on p. 144 the means of correcting him; he there says 'Five entire days passed in this kind of exchange of fire. On the night of the seventh day, which was the night of Wednesday at the end of Safar, etc.' Now, the last Wednesday in that month of Safar was on the 27th (=20th March, 1745). It should be remembered that in the Muslim almanac the day begins at 6 p.m. and not at midnight as in the Christian calculation. So, in the first statement of Siyar, p. 142, the day of the week is correct, but not the day of the month.
- 1745. Muhammad Shah's expedition against Ali Muhammad Ruhela.—Siyar, iii. 10 says that he issued from Delhi on 24 Muharram 1158 (=15 Feb., 1745), but halted in the environs for some time. Anandrām (p. 204) agrees entirely, and as he was personally present throughout the campaign, there can be no greater authority. Ashub (427) and Bayan

[J.B.O.R.S.

(210) give the same year and the next month (Safar), when the Emperor began the actual march, as Anandram too says; and so they really corroborate. Hence, Gulistan-i-Rahamat (tr. by Elliot, p. 20) is wrong in saying that the expedition was undertaken 'in the 26th year of the reign 1155,' which is absurd, as Safar 1155 fell in the 24th year of this Emperor's reign.

writes that the attack began (four days before the fall of the city) on '16th Rab'i-ul-āwwal in 1159 (written in words), in the 29th year of Muhammad Shah's reign.' Now, here the Hijri year, though written in words, is wrong, because Rab'i-ul-awwal of the 29th year of this Emperor fell in 1160 A.H. Indeed, Anandram himself supplies the means of correction, as he tells us (on p. 289) that Hayatullah arrived near Lahor on 18 Ziqada 1159, and therefore he could not possibly have attacked that city nine months before his arrival (namely in Rabi A. 1159).

The years in this MS. (the same that was used by Sir Henry Elliot's translator, Lieut. Perkins,) are sometimes wrong, even when written in words! E.g., the year of Anandram's visit to the Garh Mukteshwar fair.

- 1747. Death of Nadir Shah.—According to Jahānkushā-i-Nādiri (litho, p. 461), it took place on 11th Jamādi-us-sāni 1160 (= 9 June 1747.) Mujmil-ut-tārikh b'ad-Nādiriya of Gulistani, ed. by Oskar Mann (p. 15) supports it, and indeed copies from Jahānkushā elsewhere too. Anandram (p. 296) gives 'the last day of Jamādi-ul-ukhrā 'and Bayan (p. 215) '13th Jamādi-ul-āwwal,'—neither of which can be accepted as against the report of Nādir's secretary, the author of Jahānkushā.
- 1748. Death of Qamruddin wazir and battle of Manupur.—
 These two events took place on one and the same day, namely 11th March 1748, as is held by Anandram (pp. 346-375), Ashub (p. 454), Mujmil (pp. 108-112), and Bayan (p. 232), though the last-named work gives the date as 13th March. Against these, Siyar (iii. 19) and Gulistan-i-Rahamat (tr. p. 25) place the wazir's death on 11th March

no doubt, but the battle on the 17th and 15th respectively, which is clearly wrong.

Anandram, a Lahor man, gives a daily itinerary of the campaign from the imperialist camp, and is absolutely reliable. An interval of even one day, not to speak of four or six days (as alleged by G-i-R and Siyar), between the wazir's death and the decisive battle, is impossible, as the historians who have given detailed accounts of the battle all agree that the action was precipitated by the wazir's son (by order of his dying father) 'before the news of his death could spread and take the heart away from the imperial army,' and the fact of the wazir's death was withheld even from the commanders of all other divisions of the army except the wing commanded by the wazir's son. If after the wazir's death there had been even a day's delay in attacking and repulsing Abdali's army, the Delhi soldiers would have left their camp and fled away during the ensuing night.

1749. Death of Qāim Khān Bangash.—Gulistan-i-Rahamat (tr. p. 30) gives the date as 12th Zilhijja 1161 (= 22 Nov., 1748) and Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (p. 11) the same month and year but two days earlier, (which may be a copyist's error of daham for do-āz-daham). The date has given rise to wide divergences of opinion in the district volumes concerned of Atkinson's Gazetteer of the N.-W. P. Provinces. Now, it can be proved that the above date is wrong by exactly one year, and that Harcharan Das, in his Chahār Gulzār-i-Shujā'i (f. 402 b) is right in placing it in 1162.

The undisputed dates that fix the limits of the year of Qāim Khan's death are the following:—

Death of Ali Md. Ruhela 15 Sep., 1748 (G-i-R, 28). Qutbuddin Kh.'s appointment as governor of Rohilkhand . . . c. 15 Nov., 1748. (Ibid.)

Emperor and Safdar Jang's march towards Farrukhabad to attach deceased Qāim's property 29 Nov., 1749.

The death of Qāim Kh. admittedly took place between the death of Qutbuddin and the march of the Emperor.

We know that after Ali Muhammad's death, Qutbuddin begged and secured from Intizamuddaulah the faujdari of Muradabad, in order to crush the Ruhelas, and that after making due preparations he went to his charge and was there killed in a battle with these enemies. Gulistani-Rahamat admits that Qutbuddin's appointment was made two months after Ali Muhammad's death (p. 28) and that after the slaying of Qutbuddin by Dundi Kh., Safdar Jang 'determined to make Qāim Kh. the instrument of his vengeance [on the Afghans]' and secured for him the governorship of Rohilkhand (p. 29). We also know that Jāim Kh. at first shrank from his perilous charge, and tried to come to an understanding with the Ruhelas by sending peace proposals to them, and it was only the return of his envoys in humiliation and failure that made him decide on war, with fatal consequences to himself. If Qutbuddin was appointed about 15th Nov., 1748 (as is admitted by G-i-R), where is the space for all these occurrences within the seven days that intervened between it and the death of Qāim Kh. on the 22nd of the same month and year, as alleged by G-i-R?

Then, again, it is admitted in this work (p. 35), 'No sooner did he [Safdar Jang] hear of the event [i.e., Qāim's death] than he marched to Farrukhabad to seize his property.' This march began on 29th Nov., 1749, and if Qāim had died on 22nd Nov., a year earlier, the interval of one year and seven days would be unaccountable. The normal procedure of the Mughal Government was to send out officers for attaching a noble's property immediately after hearing of his death.

Siyar (iii. 29) just after narrating the death of Qāim mentions the death of Mirza Muhasan, which admittedly took place on 29th Nov., 1749, and therefore Qāim's death could not have been an occurrence of a previous year, to which a different chapter is devoted in Siyar.

Lastly, on 10th Zilhijja 1161 (20 Nov., 1748), Safdar Jang, when returning from the 'Id prayer, was shot at and thrown down from his horse in the streets of Delhi and

suspected Intizam-ud-daulah and some other people of the palace party of having been the instigators of this attempt on his life. He left Delhi city in a huff and lived for some months after in the suburbs as his life was insecure within the walled city. The Emperor had to pay him a visit in this new residence some months later in order to placate him. This period of strained relationship was not exactly the time when Safdar Jang could have begged the governorship of Rohilkhand for his own nominee, Qāim Khan.

Khairuddin in 'Ibratnamah (a very valuable history, though completed in 1806) says that Qaim Kh. was killed in the second regnal year of Ahmad Shah Timurid, which admittedly began in April 1749.

1751. Ahmad Bangash's siege of Allahabad and Mahmud Bangash's invasion of Oudh.—Both were undertaken at the same time. The siege of Allahabad was abandoned, after having been admittedly protracted [Siyar, iii. 34], late in March 1751, and therefore it must have been begun at least in the previous January,—which was also the time of Mahmud's arrival at Bilgram on his invasion of Oudh. Hence, Siyar's date for the latter event, 16th Jamādiāwwal should be corrected to 16th Rab'i-ul-āwwal (as is given by Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 53).

Abbreviation of authorities quoted.

- Akhbarat.—Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-muala, (Biblio. Nat. Paris MS.) See this Journal, Dec., 1931 number, p. 340.
- Anand.—Ānand-rām Mukhlis's Tazkira, Pers. MS. now in the Aligarh University Library, (my transcript cited).
- Bayan.—Bayān-i-waqāi' of Abdul Karim Kashmiri, (my transcript cited).
- Bengal let.—Letters from the Calcutta Council to the Directors in London. Also Bengal Consultations. (Both preserved in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta.)
- D.C.—A Persian chronology of events in Delhi from 1738 to 1798 (my transcr.), described by me in the *Proceedings* of the Bombay session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

- Jahan-Kusha.—Jahān-kushā-i-Nādiri, by Mirza Mehdi, (Bombay litho.).
- Mahārāshtra Purān.—A Bengali poem pub. in the Quarterly Journal of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.
- Mujmil.—Mujmil-ut-tārikh ba'd Nādiriya by Gulistani, ed. by Dr. Oskar Mann (Leyden).
- Muzaffar.—Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,, by Md. Ali Ansari, (my MS.).
- Sarw-i-Azad.—By Āzād Bilgrāmi, (litho.).
- Shākir.—Tazkira of Shākir Kh., the son of Lutfullah Kh. and paternal uncle of the author of Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, (my MS.).
- Siyar.—Siyar-ul-Mutakhkharin, Persian text, printed in Calcutta, 1832.
- S. P. D.—Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, published by Govt. Press, Bombay. Where no part is cited the reference is to part xx. ('The Bhonsles of Nagpur').

III.—A Note on certain Sanskrit Geographical and Ethnic Terms.

In the Bhārata-Bhāmi (reviewed in this issue) the author has proposed some noteworthy identifications.

Aparītāh of the Sanskrit works he identifies with the Afridis of the North-Western Frontier. This is to be accepted, as both location and name fully justify the identification. Up to this time the tendency was to regard the Purāṇic spelling as a wrong one for Aparāntāh. But Mr. Jayachandra is right in his interpretation.

Northern Chola: The author successfully shows that there was a northern Chola according to Sanskrit geographers. Its position seems to be near Gilgit. Mr. Jayachandra points a name on the map resembling Chola, which may or may not be a correct identification, but the fact that there was a northern Chola is established.

Rishika. The most important contribution of Mr. Jayachandra is the interpretation of Rishika of the Mahā-Bhārata. Its location certainly justifies the inference that it refers to the Yüe chi. It is the name which is given to their language as Āršī (Kharoshthi Inscriptions, p. XI). I think Rishika is a rendering of the 'Arsī country'. But Mr. Jayachandra is wrong to take it as equivalent of Yüe chī or Yüe-ti. The original of Yüe chi should have g, j, or v and s or t. Kautilya gives a Central Asian name—'visî and mahā-visî' (spelt as Bisī, Mahābisī in the printed edition)—which seems to be the Little Yüe Chī and Great Yüe Chi. Bhattasvāmin (p. 41, J.B.O.R.S., XI), treats these as furs coming from Mlechchha towns 'in the Himālaya', but he does the same regarding the neighbouring expression Bālhaveya, an import of Sāmūra, which certainly is the Central Asian fur still known under the same name and still imported from there into India.

Kamboja. The Sanskrit writers and Aśoka's inscriptions refer by it to Sīstan and the portion of Afghanistan adjacent to it. But there is enough authority to hold that the Hindus knew also a Northern Kāmboja on the other side of the Himālaya, i.e., in Central Asia. See, for instance, Rājaśekhara. Kāvyamīmāmsā, p. 94. Many of the Sanskrit writers include communities on the other side of the Himālaya amongst the Himālayan peoples.

Madra. The name might be traced in the present Mandra (Jhelam District), which is a centre of Punjabi soldiers and a handsome population. It is to be seen whether there is any Mandra caste also.

Jāts. Abū Sālih, the Arab writer on the history of Sindh (discussed in this issue), quoting a Hindu book, says that the original population of Sindh was composed of Jats and Meds under Jayadratha (Jandrāt¹). The Mahā-Bhārata Yatri is thus confirmed by Abū Sālih's original Hindu authority.

Mekalâ. Mekalâ of the Purānas is the Maikal Hills of the Central Provinces.

K. P. J.

¹ Misread y for n in Persian script.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension—critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, \overline{A} di Parvan, in two parts, 1,463 pages, 7" $\times 4\frac{3}{4}$ ", published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 252, Esplanade, Madras, 1931.

The text of the Southern Recension at a hundred thousand Ślokas was, as pointed out by Professor Sastri, the editor, fixed before the 11th or the 10th Century A.D. It is therefore important to have a critical edition of the Southern text. We are glad to see the Editor of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the Tanjore Library taking up the task of editing the text. As to the value of the Southern text in comparison with the Northern one, we have to reserve our opinion until the whole text is edited. Mr. Sastri has already put forward claims in favour of the Southern recension. What may be at present said is that the old view might need reconsideration. We welcome Mr. Sastri's effort and commend the enterprise of the publishers. The printing is excellent and the volumes very handy.

K. P. J.

Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivāsī ('India and Her Inhabitants') by Jayachandra Vidyālankāra, with an Introduction by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, pp. 410, $7\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times 4\frac{3}{4}$ ", published by the Author from Kamaliya, Punjab, Price Rs. 2/4.

The author has attempted a geography of India in Hindi taking account of ethnology and languages and the factors of physical features influencing race-movements and history. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his *Introduction* commends the labour and insight of the author, which I endorse. The author's view

about the identification of the Stri-rājya with Tibet is an illustration of going astray. But new and reliable matters based on solid research abound in this closely-printed little book.

K. P. J.

A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics. By Surendra Kishor Chakrabortty, M.A., Professor of History, Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal, 1931, 7"×5", p. 242.

The sub-title is given as 'The Indigenous System: From the Earliest Times to the Rise of the Imperial Guptas, Third Century A.D. With special Reference to Northern India.' The book is divided into eight chapters: (I) Evolution of coinage, (II) Evolution of coinage in India, (III) Weights and Denominations, (IV) Metrology, (V) Fabrication, (VI) Relation to State, (VII) Symbols, (VIII) Provenance and Types.

The first impression in glancing through the book is that it is an amateurish work. In Chapter I, opinions well-known for accuracy or otherwise in fairly standard works are quoted in extenso, but little-known interesting data are apparently unknown to the author. For instance, the evolution of coinage makes no mention of stone money in use on the islands of Uap in the Carolines, called fei: cf. Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics, vol. ii, p. 869; W. H. Furness, The Island of Stone Money, 1910, p. 93. It has a special significance now regarding the use of the ring-stones discovered at Mahenjo-Daro, discussed on p. 62 of vol. i, of Mahenjo-Daro (1931), by Sir John Marshall—' Dr. A. B. Cook has drawn my attention to the fact that relatively small discs of quartz and sandstone pierced with a hole in the centre were once used for money in Togoland.' In Chapter IV, the treatment of the question of bimetallism (pp. 78, 80, 96) is obviously inadequate. 'The gradual deterioration' (p. 95) is soluble in terms of Gresham's law that 'bad money drives out good money', (cf. L. R. Ehrich, The Question of Silver, p. 8) and contemporary history supplies reasons for such depreciation (cf. also E. Cardwell, Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans, p. 10).

The above impression of inadequacy is further strengthened by the author's description of the provenance and cointypes (Chapter VIII). It is not enough to refer to the symbols on the Śunga coins (Chapter V, p. 206): 'male figure with fiverayed head', 'solar symbol of disc', 'five-pointed flames'; an attempt should have been made to discuss this symbol in the light of the statement in Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram—Baimbikānām bimbosthi idameva kulavratam. Again, in discussing the Janapada coins (Chapter VIII, pp. 189 ff.) the author should have referred to this regular prerogative of Janapadas, as proved by the Nalanda seal described by Jayaswal in the Indian Antiquary (1928). The established position of Janapada as an institution may be gathered from the Tibetan book translated from Sanskrit—Subhagānām Grīvālamkāra Magadha-mahālpeşu dharmasena-vādī dharmabhogasya kramavitatināma: in 'La Collection Tibétaine von Canstadt de l'Institut'. Magadhamahālpeşu, 'dans les grandes et petites communautés du Magadha' (J.A., Octobre-Décembre, 1924, p. 337).

In discussing 'Relation to State', the author entirely misses the significance of the temples: "Banking is a very ancient institution in world history. The first banks and bankers were the temples" (The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VIII, 1930, p. 660).

In short, the book is good enough as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough.

A. B-Ś.

History of Orissa: From the earliest times to the British Period. By R. D. Banerji, M.A., Manindra Chandra Nundy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, Vol. I, pp. 351+XII, 10½"×7", 1930; Vol. II, pp. 456+35 (Index) XX, same size, 1931, total number of plates 152; published by R. Chatterji, Modern Press, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 20/-+Rs. 20/-.

These two volumes on stout paper and with good illustrations mark a standard in Indian publication. Indian authors used to suffer from inferior work of their publishers. The two volumes before us give satisfaction that material clothing is not wanting for this production of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji.

In the series of provincial histories, the value of which I have already pointed out in reviewing in this Journal the Kadamba Kula or the History of Karnataka by Mr. Moraes, the History of Orissa will occupy a prominent place. first volume deals with the Hindu and the second with the Musalman and British periods. It is a political history, but it is so rich in illustrations that it serves also as a history of architecture and sculpture in Orissa. The Kiching Sculptures, excavated by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda in the state of Mayurbhanja, illustrated in the second volume disclose some wonderful pieces of art. Three of these will rank amongst the best sculptures of the world. The greatest period of the art of Indian Sculpture is neither the Sanchi-Bharhut nor the Gupta (from Udayagiri to Elephanta), but the mediæval from Java to Kiching. It is only in this period when the artlanguage of Hindu Sculptor reached its noblest expression. It gives me great delight to see that period so well represented in the History of Orissa. Mr. Banerji's plates fully illustrate that architecture of Orissa is not Orissan but is only an illustration of the architecture of the period, be its example at Khajuraho, Bhuvaneswar or elsewhere in India, and whether applied to Jaina, Saiva, or Vaishnava worship. Mr. Banerji in the two last chapters has treated mediæval architecture and sculptures at length.

Mr. R. D. Banerji has filled up many gaps in Orissan history. He devoted considerable time to this work. Nor was any other scholar better fitted to execute it. He was most familiar with the epigraphic materials, and fully conversant with Muhamadan records. The account of Tungas, Sulkis and Nandas, the new light on the origin of the Bhanja dynasty, the materials bearing on the Kesaris, Karas and the Gangas, now give a connected view of Orissa's past. The British and the preceding periods are deservingly rich in detail. The maps of

Khāravela's conquests and the oversea empire of Kalinga are amongst striking features with which the volumes are replete.

The book is posthumous. A few references have been left unfilled in the footnotes. The views of the author in the appendix on the Rajput origins will not be acceptable, while he has added some illuminating discussions on architecture and plastic art.

The publisher could render no better memorial to that great scholar, the author, than he has done by the handsome execution of the favourite production of the author. Mr. Chatterji deserves public thanks for it.

K. P. J.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, December the 6th, 1931.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).

Mr. H. Lambert.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on August the 2nd, 1931.
- 2. The monthly accounts for July to November, 1931, were submitted and passed.
- 3. (a) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with Lady Mullick on the death of her husband, Sir B. K. Mullick, was passed on a motion from the Chair.
- (b) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with the family of Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhury in their bereavement was passed on a motion from the Chair.
- (c) A resolution of condolence and respectful sympathy with the family of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., in their bereavement was passed on a motion from the Chair.
- 4. The following arrears of payment to the Society were written off:—

 - (ii) Mr. Adityanarain Misra .. 6
 - (iii) Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhury 12

5. Read letter No. 942-E.R., dated August 30th, 1931, from the Assistant Secretary for Government, Education and Development Department.

Resolved: that the Assistant Secretary be informed that since Pandit Nagendranath Mahapatra had actually travelled from Cuttack to Patna via Howrah, and that since this was the most reasonable route to employ, and that since the Pandit had been unaware that Government required him to employ another route, the Council had sanctioned the excess fare of Rs. 8-12-6.

- 6. Considered the advisability of placing the names of the following magazines on our exchange list:—
 - (i) The publications of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
 - (ii) 'Ganga'—Sultanganj, Bhagalpur.

Resolved: that the publications of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, be placed on our exchange list.

7. Read Dr. Sarkar's letter, dated October 2nd, 1931.

Resolved: that, though special permission to read in the Society's Library may be granted to individual students, no general permission be granted.

- 8. Resolved: that the Annual General Meeting of the Society be held during University week in March, 1932, at a date to be decided later in accordance with H.E. the President's convenience.
- 9. Passed the B.M. Press bills for Rs. 1,156-14-0 (bills Nos. 2703, 2724-2735) for the printing of the Society's Journal, Vol. XVII, parts 2 and 3.

J. L. HILL, Honorary General Secretary. Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, March 6th, 1932.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).

Mr. H. Lambert.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council, held on December 6th, 1931.
- 2. Passed the monthly accounts for December, 1931, for January and February, 1932, submitted by the Honorary Treasurer.
- 3. Elected as a member of the Society Sardar Thakur Kishore Singh Barhut, State Historian, Patiala.
- 4. Placed on the Society's exchange list the publications of the Archeological Department, Travancore.

Considered and found unsuitable for exchange the Allahabad University Magazine.

5. Read letter No. 1342, dated January 22nd, 1932, from the Imperial Bank of India, Patna.

Passed a resolution specifically authorising Mr. Sham Bahadur, Treasurer of the Society, to operate on the Society's account with the Imperial Bank.

6. Read and recorded letter No. 355-E., dated January 25th, 1932, from the Secretary to Government, Education and Development Department.

7. Read letter No. 210-H.C., dated January 26th, 1932, from the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta.

Resolved: that the Secretary be informed that if the Commission will propose the revision of the list of Christian tombs and monuments in any particular district, the Society will endeavour to find a member willing to undertake the work of correction.

- 8. Read and recorded a letter, dated January 1st, 1932, from Professor O. M. Lind.
- 9. Wrote off the arrear of subscription of Col. T. R. Filgate, C.I.E., (deceased).
- 10. Resolved: that the amended bill No. 65, dated February 19th, 1932, for Rs. 3,309-6-0 from the Government Printing Press be paid.
- 11. Read a letter, dated February 19th, 1932, from Messrs. Hartsons and Co.

Resolved: that the balance (Rs. 4-12-0) of the bill submitted on October 22nd, 1930, be paid; but that Messrs. Hartsons be asked to amend their bill No. A-823 of February 6th, 1932, in accordance with the rates usually charged.

- 12. Sanctioned the sum of Rs. 14-9-2 spent in excess of Government's grant for the cataloguing of Palm leaf Manuscripts in Orissa in the year 1931-32.
- 13. Discussed arrangements for the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on March 17th, 1932.

J. L. Hill,

9th March, 1932.

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 17th March, 1932, in the Society's Council Room, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., presiding.

1. On the motion of Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Rai the following were elected officers and members of the Council for the year 1932-33:—

President—His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Secretary-Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur, Bar-at-Law.

Librarian-Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board :-

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Editor.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, who are ex-officio members):—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Mr. P. C. Manuk, Bar-at-Law.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, M.A., D.Litt.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

- 2. Mr. Sham Bahadur, Honorary Treasurer, presented the annual statement of accounts for 1931-32, which was taken as read.
- 3. The Vice-President, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.
 - 4. Mr. D. N. Sen proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

J. L. Hill,

19th March, 1932.

Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Report for 1931-32 of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

I. MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Journal on the 31st December, 1930, was 174. In the course of the ensuing twelve months the Society lost one of its ordinary members by death and two by resignation and five subscribers to the Journal: a total loss of eight. On the other hand the names of five new members to the Journal were enrolled. The total number of members and subscribers on the roll on the 31st December, 1931, was, accordingly, 171. Among the life-members there has been no change. Among the honorary members there was one death. Thus the number of honorary members and life-members on the roll on the 31st December, 1931, was 12 and 15 respectively, making a grand total of 198.

II. JOURNAL.

During the period under review Volume XVII (Parts 1, 2, 3 and 4) of the Society's Journal was published, containing 472 pages, 24 plates and one plan: Five plates of the Narsinghpur Charter of Udyotakesari Mahabhavagupta IV, three plates of Ragamala Paintings, nine plates of the Nettabhanja Grant, two plates and one plan of the Sobhanesvara Inscription of Sri Vaidyanath, four plates of the Mandasa record of Anantavarmadeva and one plate of two Brahmi Seals from Buxar. Part I of Volume XVIII is in the Baptist Mission Press.

The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1931.

III. MEETINGS.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 27th March, 1931, in the Wheeler Senate House. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, President of the Society, presided. After the transaction of the formal business the Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,

reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. Professor Radha Krishnam, Regius Professor of Calcutta University, then addressed the Society. The subject of his extremely popular address was 'Ancient Idealism and Modern Science'.

Meetings of the Council, elected at the last Annual General Meeting, were held on the 2nd August and 6th December, 1931,

and 6th March, 1932.

IV. LIBRARY.

During the year 438 books (645 volumes), of which 7 were Sanskrit, 5 Pali, 10 Hindi, 1 Oriya, and 1 Telegu works, were added to the Library. Of the total 54 were presented, while 155 were obtained by exchange and 229 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1931, the Library contained 5,755 volumes as compared with 5,110 volumes at the end of the previous year. Out of the Mayurbhanj donation to the Library the sum of Rs. 403-5-10 was spent on books during the financial year up to February, 1932, and Rs. 3,054-4-4 was spent during March, 1931.

V. SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS.

The search for manuscripts proceeded steadily throughout the year under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri. Pandit Vishnu Lal Sastri was employed in the Darbhanga district and catalogued 858 manuscripts from June, 1931, to February, 1932. He also brought to light some old judgments. During the rest of the time he was employed at Headquarters to arrange his work of the previous year. The Oriya Pandit, Pandit Chintamani Misra, worked in the Feudatory States of Ranpur, Nayagarh, Khandapara and Kalahandi and catalogued 154 manuscripts from October, 1931, to January, 1932. For the rest of the period he was employed at Headquarters to arrange the work done by his predecessors.

The new Oriya Pandit, Pandit Chintamani Misra, was appointed on the 10th March, 1931. His services will terminate on the 9th March, 1932.

VI. GENERAL.

The Society lost its only Indian honorary member, the distinguished Oriental scholar Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara

Prasad Sastri, C.I.E., of Calcutta, and a member of the Council, Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhury.

The following were added to our exchange list:-

- 'Kern Institute,' Leiden.
- 'Karnatak Historical Research Society,' Dharwar.
- 'Archæological Department,' Gwalior State.

The Council Room of the Society has been much adorned with photographic portraits of eminent past officers. The present Vice-President has also made a gift to the Society of some remarkably imposing Himalayan photographs of his own taking.

VII.—The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

6th March, 1932.

J. L. HILL,
Honorary Council Secretary.

Statement of Accounts from April, 1931, to February, 1932, of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

- A. The actuals for 1930-31 showed a closing balance of Rs. 1,560-0-8 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 9,781-12-0; the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 11,341-12-8 at the end of 1930-31.
- B. As regards the actuals up to the 29th February, 1932, the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,809-8-0. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, viz., Rs. 8,872-7-3, which gives a total of Rs. 10,681-15-3.

The position of the Society is, therefore, financially sound.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realised up to the 29th February, 1932, amounted to Rs. 1,282-1-0. Up to the 28th February, 1931, the realised amount was Rs. 1,967-11-7. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 2,000.

Our realisations from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 1,431-11-1 up to the end of February, 1931. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 1,899-15-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 436-7-9 up to February, 1932.

17th March, 1932.

S. Bahadur,
Honorary Treasurer.



Actuals up to February 29, 1932.

												-4	,		Into	le-lor	,	
ئ. ئ <u>ر</u>	₽4 ¢	-		0 7	H O	0	0	0			0	9	00	0	9	-"	00	SSLS
vise dgei	\ 4 °	# rc	. 0	2 ×	30	6	0	9		· :	0	3	11	0	3 14	14	12	Me
Re	Rs	24. 24.	386	9 6	225	,355	400	<u></u>	366	•	,026	,086	တိ	300	,736	,294	031	sit,
	•	_	_			2		Ī	-		CA.	CA			17	ಛ	21	ode
	ei o	20	0	-	;0	0	က) [-0			0	0	ಣ	9	0	9	d.
als.	Ą.	9	-				-	9 1	201	:	:	5	0	9	0	တ	∞	ïxe
Letu	Rs.	46	823	308	225	903	340	000	221	:	:	103	-	114	394	60	03	9.
7		4	2,4	~		4,4			2 64			d,		6,	16,5	3,1	18,1	nt t
		:	:	-	: :	:		:				:		.:	•		•	Sei
					•	Ī	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	90,
											ਾ ਹ	ηq			AL		A.L	. g
		:	:			:	:	:	: :	ø	du	\mathbf{F}_{ui}	:	:	ror		COL	38 F
						202			89	Fun	gal	anj		_		(<u>P</u>	Ð	lude
	4	ne	dit	42	,	ırge			arg	Wa	han	ırbh		s (a		nce	RAL	inc
		eme	Pan	indi	9	Cpg	:	<u>ک</u>	1 0	ath	arbl	ayu	e o	eon		Sala	Ö	This
	13.23	01181	ila J	ď	hor	ing	989	one	rica	Ή	Ä	M H	tur	llan	1	90 H		T (2
	100	STS	lith	riv	elep	rint	oste	ration.	lect	ut c	at o	uto	nin	isce	•	osir		٥
					-	P4 1	P4 0	2 -	H	_	_		_			ວ —		-
e	م زم	0	, <	>	0	(> c	>		113	10	63	4	0		0	0	ad
risec dget	Ą	0		>	0	(o c	>		14	10	4	14	0		G	7	hak
Rev	Rs.	750	. 6	90	25	9	122	9		343	324	936	336	330		100	10	Alle
13	C.	î					4	5		1,	က်	9	4,	4.5		010	41,	В
	ا 10 ص	, , ,	ි ලා ර		0		- ·				-401	-fc3				1	. 1	fro
als.	4-	107	10 1			0	00			8	7	20	œ			0		ved
ţ,	. 0	. ~												•				•==
9	S 8	88	33	1	œ	1	- 10			25	35	~	=	:		25		900
Ac	Rs 1.285	1,388	7,383	1	œ	1	6.455			455	99	837	201	:		8 103	60,100	6 rece
Ao	Rs 1.285	1,388	7,383				6.455	200		455	96	837	201			18 103	COTTO	-12-6 rece
Ao	Rs 1.285	1,388	7,383				6.455			455	65	837	201	:		18 103	COTTO	,345-12-6 rece
Ao	Rs 1.285	1,388	:	Mithila		r urnes	6.455			455	65	837	201	:			•	s. 7,345-12-6 rece
Ao	Rs 1.285	. 1,388	:	Mithila	Dumos	r arnes			1. 90	455	65	837	201	•			•	8 Rs. 7,345-12-6 rece
Ao	Rs 1.285	:	:	Mithila	Dumos	r arnes			vlance:		:	:	201				•	ides Rs. 7,345-12-6 rece
Ao	•	:	:	Mithila	Dumos	r arnes			Balance:-		:	: "	•				•	noludes Rs. 7,345-12-6 rece
Ao	•	:	:	Mithila	Dumos	r arnes			ning Balance :		:	: "	•			GRAND TOTAL 18 103	•	is includes Rs. 7,345-12-6 rece
Ao	•	:	:	Mithila	Dumos	r arnes			Opening Balance: -		:	: "	•	on on F.D.			•	This includes Rs. 7,345-12-6 rece
Ao	•	:	:	gue of Mithila		r arnes	nt Grant		Opening Balance :-		:	: "		Therese on F.D.			•	(a) This includes Rs. 7,345-12-6 received from Allahabad
	Revised Budget.	F. Rs. A. P.	For Seq. Factors Fac	Fevrased Each Servased E	Fevised Each Section Fevised Fevi	Fevrased Each Section Fevrased Each Septiment E	Fevrised Fevrised Fevrised Fevrised Funder. Funder.	Favised How Figure Favised Budget. Fas. A. P. Bridget. Fas	Budget. Badget. Budget. Budget. Budget. Budget. Budget. Budget. Budget. Brs. A. P. Brs. A. Brs. A. P. Brs. A. Brs.	Fevrised Budget. Factorised Budget. Factorise	Budget. A. P. Establishment 1,294 15 S 1	Bandget	Budget	Budget	Favised Hadget. Favised Budget. Favised Budget. Fas. A. P. Bris. A. Bris.	Budget	Budget. Richard Robins Richard Richa	Budget

Bank (Fixed Deposit realised with interest).

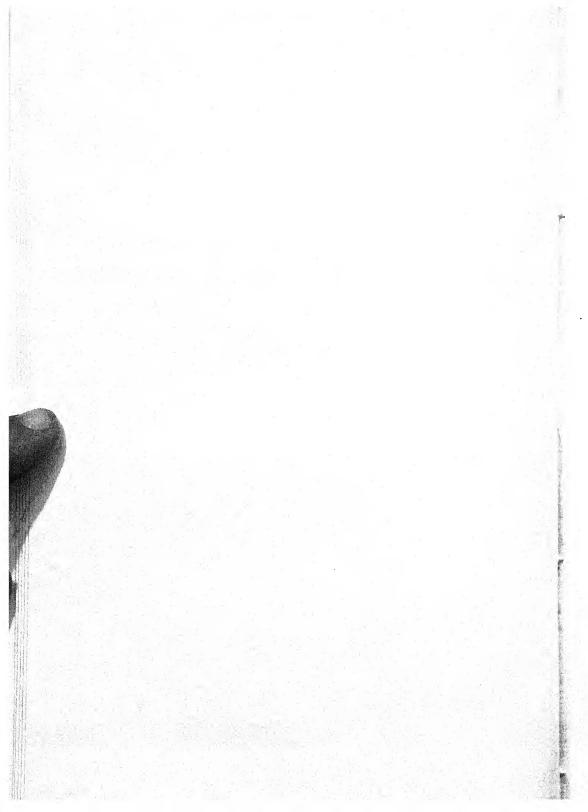
ed Deposit, Messrs. Rs. 325 refunded to	Rs. A. P.	463 0 1	74 3 114	434 2 53	838 1 6	0 8 608 1	3,107 0 3	838 1 6	3,945 1 9
(a) This includes Rs. 6,000 sent to Fixed Deposit, Messrs. Luzac's cheque for Rs. 213-12 returned and Rs. 325 refunded to Government from Library grant.	(b) Closing Balance:—	Hathwa Fund	Darbhanga Fund	Mayurbhanj Fund	General Balance	GRAND TOTAL	General Balance in Fixed Deposit	Current Account	GRAND TOTAL

S. BAHADUR, Honorary Treasurer.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī,	Roman.
ঝ	a	ব	t
च्या	ā	थ	\mathbf{th}
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ঘ	dh
ਭ	u	न	n
্ৰ জ	ū	प	p
報	ŗ or ŗi	प	ph
च न्ह	r or rI	ब	b
ल्ट	Į.	स	bh
ॡ	1	म	\mathbf{m}
य	e	य	y
र्	ai	₹ °	r
खो	0	ল	1
व्यौ	au	व	v
क	k	म्	ś -
ख	kh	घ	s or s
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ভ	ń	ল	1
च	ch	$$ (Anusv $ar{a}$ ra)	m
更	chh	1 (Anunā $\dot{s}ika$)	ň
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ķ
₹	jh		
স	ñ	\times (Jihvāmūlīya)	ф
ट	t) ((Upadhmānīya)	h
ठ	th	5 (Avagraha)	,
ड	ġ	$Udar{a}tta$	_
ढ	đh	Svarita	^
ग	ņ	Anudātta	1_





JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

JUNE, 1932.

CONTENTS.

	Leaving Arnicles.	PAGES
I.	The Skirts of Nanda Devi (with 4 plates and 1 map)	117–128
II.	Mīmāmsā-Śāstra-Sarvasva By Halayudha, Edited by Umesa Misra.	129-200
III.	The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kushāṇa Emperor in India	201-206
IV.	A Passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage By K. P. Jayaswal.	207-211
V.	The Kākas—their Location	212-213
VI.	An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District (with 1 plate)	214-221
VII.	Note on an Oriya Copperplate of the Sambal- pur District	222–224

CONTENTS.

$Miscellaneous\ Contributions.$	
	PAGES
I. A Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa' By K. P. Jayaswal.	225
II. Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E. (b. 6th December, 1852—d. 17th November, 1931)	226–234
Reviews and Notices of Books.	
I. Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, by Sir John Marshall	235-239
By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).	
Notes of the Quarter.	
Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on April 24th,	
1932	240-241
Annual Account for the year 1931-32	242
Transliteration of Devanagari into Roman Alphabets	243
List of Members of the Bihar and Orissa Research	
Society on 31st December, 1931	244-254



JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XVIII.]

1932.

IPART II.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi.

By the Vice-President.

I.

1. The Nanda Devi Massif.

'If heaven's face clouds or clears,

Dawn and noon and sunset are one before thy face.'

The inviolate snows of Nanda Devi, the twin-peaked goddess of Kumaon, rise to a height of 25,660 feet in her western peak and of 24,379 on the eastern side. Apart from its sacred associations, as the highest mountain in the British Empire it has naturally claimed attention in recent years from lovers of mountains; but the only serious attempt which has been made on either of the peaks was the gallant effort of Dr. T. G. Longstaff made from the Gori Valley by way of the Panchu Glacier in 1905, which stopped short at 20,000 feet. Reconnaissances have since that time been made from glaciers on the other side of the mountain, the results of which cannot be regarded as unduly encouraging. Twelve years ago a local engineer contributed to the log-book which is maintained at Phurkiya, at the foot of the Pindari Glacier, an interesting note on the mountains of the neighbourhood, in which he committed himself to the statement that the ascent of Kamet was

practically impossible. The statement stands on record as a warning that to say this of any mountain is rash; but it may be said with certainty that to ascend Nanda Devi would be a great achievement, to be accomplished after overcoming difficulties greater than those to be met on higher mountains, although the outskirts of Nanda Devi are more easily approached than those of any other giant of the Himalaya.

I will in due course describe the pleasant and easy route to the valleys of the Pindar and Goriganga, in the hope that some of our members may be encouraged to visit these places and to return to them, attracted to attempt something in this field of research and to add to our knowledge of this sacred and adorable mountain. It was with a beautiful sense of fitness that the ancients identified the mountain with the glorious daughter of Himawat, Parvatī Devī, bride of Mahādeva. For Nanda Devi, and in particular her eastern peak, is lovely beyond description, claiming adoration whether she is seen from far or near, from some high point on the moraine of a glacier, or filling the heavens in all her glory as she strikes down a side valley of the Goriganga, or lit by the rising or setting sun while the rest of the world is in darkness in the upper reaches of the Pindar. Too often, at all seasons of the year, clouds veil her slopes; but clear of cloud or clouded she is always lovely.

The mountain mass which culminates in the peaks of Nanda Devi forms the watershed between the valleys of the Dhaoli and the Alaknanda on the west and the Goriganga on the east. The two great peaks, guarded by precipitous cliffs which the passage of avalanches has smoothed and polished, rise from their sea of ice on the eastern side of the massif. To the north of this sea of ice are the peaks of Kalanka (22,735) and Changabang (22,516), while farther west is Dunagiri (23,184), overlooking the Dhaoli Valley and the pilgrim route to the sources of the Ganges. South of Dunagiri the Rishi Ganga, flowing from the edge of the Nanda Devi 'crater', cuts a trench through the massif, which according to the survey map, should afford a means of access to the crater. The map was unfortunately found to be incorrect when the valley was entered from the north by Dr. Longstaff. The mountain may perhaps be ultimately ascend-

ed by this route, but the results of Dr. Longstaff's explorations are not greatly encouraging.

On the southern side of the Rishi Ganga trench is Nanda Ghunti (21,286), the bridal veil of Parvatī, south of which is Nandakna (20,700). Beyond Nandakna are the western slopes of Trisūl. The skirts of the massif on the western side are probably the most generally known, from their proximity to the much travelled route from Hardwar, and to the routes from Mussoorie and Ranikhet, the latter of which follows the Pindar Valley from near Gwaldam to Karnaprayag, one of the five great prayags, where the sacred stream of the Pindar joins the Ganges. On the southern side the main massif is bounded by the valley of the Pindar, which flows from the Pindari Glacier. This is the easiest of access of the glaciers of the Himalaya; and probably more people have stood on the Pindari than on all the rest of the glaciers of Kumaon taken together. But for all that, even on this route, one rarely meets another traveller; and far fewer than should do so take advantage of the amenities provided by the District Board, by which the traveller may reach the foot of the Pindari Glacier without even needing tents, by a road almost completely bridged, on which he may if he chooses ride practically from beginning to end. On this side of the massif we find first the group of mountains known from its curious formation as Triśūl, from ancient days the Vijaya of Mahādeva, if not Mahādeva himself. This group, which also overlooks the pilgrim route, culminates in three peaks (23,406, 22,490 and 22,360), of majestic appearance, which from a distant view even rival Nanda Devi. The whole of the southern side of the massif slopes down to the Pindar river, which flows from the Pindari Glacier, and is augmented on its course by the outflow from innumerable glaciers, which are formed at every fold in the mountains. The massif terminates on the south-east in Nanda Kot (22,530), which forms the southern wall of the Pindari Glacier, contributing largely to it by its tributary glaciers, and throwing out a long arm which gradually slopes to lower levels. Sundardhunga (21,858) lies between Nanda Kot and Triśūl; and east of Sundardhunga are two peaks, 21,624 on its north-east, and 20,740 rising from the slopes of Nanda Kot, between which

lies Traill's Pass, by which a passage has been found, over the Pindari Glacier, to the Lwanl Glacier and the Goriganga Valley.

On the east the massif slopes steeply down to the valley of the Goriganga, which takes its rise in the Milam Glacier and in the glaciers north of Doong. The Milam Glacier flows down from two great peaks, 22,940 and 23,320, on the north-east of the massif, fed by subsidiary glaciers throughout its course until its snout is reached at about 12,000 feet, a little above the village of Milam. From there until the river reaches Baugdiar, it is augmented by the outflow of glaciers from Nanda Devi, the Panchu and smaller glaciers on the south of it; and by the Lwanl, Salung and Poting Glaciers from the slopes of Nanda Kot.

A high ridge bounds the Milam Glacier on the north, of which a branch runs south-east to form the eastern side of the Milam Glacier, culminating in an unnamed peak 22,400 feet in height. The ridge on the north continues until, after the depression which forms the Untadhura Pass (17,590), it turns to the south-east and enters Nepal. South of the Untadhura Pass, glaciers on both sides form one of the sources of the Goriganga, which may be regarded as the eastern boundary of the Nanda Devi Massif. On the north, the Girthi river rises close to the Untadhura Pass, and divides the main Himalayan Range from the Zaskar Range and Tibet. The glaciers of the upper Girthi Valley are short and steep, heavily crevassed, with a small discharge of water. The Girthi flows westward in a torrential stream, between precipitous cliffs, until it joins the Dhauli, which forms the western boundary of the Nanda Devi mountain mass; and the passage of the valley is difficult but not impracticable.

The history of exploration in these valleys is interesting. Although from the earliest times there must have been traffic between Tibet and the upper valley of the Ganges by the Niti and Mana Passes, an idea prevailed until 1808 that the Ganges rose near Kailas in Tibet, and that it passed over the Himalaya in a great cataract. Maps of the eighteenth century were based on an attempted survey made by two Lamas who were sent by the Emperor of China in 1711 to prepare a map of

Tibet and the sources of the Ganges. A revolution took place in Tibet while the Lamas were engaged on this work, which was thus brought to a hasty conclusion; and their map of the sources of the Ganges and Hundes was based on oral information. This map, according to which the Ganges began its course on a line approximate to the true course of the Sutlej, and then took a great bend to the south, formed the basis of maps of that area until in 1784 Anguetil Du Perron published the result of the researches of Father Tieffenthaller, a Jesuit missionary in India; but the missionary, who had actually not travelled very high up the valley of the Ganges, gave information little more accurate than that of the Lamas. In 1808, at the instance of the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Surveyor-General deputed Captain F. V. Raper and Lieutenant Webb to survey the Ganges from Hardwar to Gangotri. They were stopped when they reached Badrinath; but one of their Hindu assistants travelled farther: and they were able to delineate with greater accuracy than had hitherto been possible the course of the Ganges from its source, and to report with certainty that the river did not rise on the farther side of the Himalaya. In 1812 the enterprising veterinary surgeon William Moorcroft travelled up the Dhauli Valley, through Malari and Niti, crossed the Niti Pass and penetrated to Gartok, whence he travelled to the Manasarovar Lakes. Accounts of these journeys were published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of that of Raper and Webb in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Researches and that of Moorcroft in the twelfth. In the eleventh volume H. T. Colebrooke, commenting on the achievements of Raper and Webb, remarked that the Himalaya would probably be found to contain mountains higher than Mont Blanc and to be actually one of the highest ranges of mountains in the world. He contributed to the twelfth volume an article on the height of the mountains, based on further observations made by officers from the plains and from Kathmandu, in which he expressed his conclusion that the height of Dwalagiri was between 26,462 and 27,677 feet; of

¹ Asiatic Researches, XI, 429.

Jamnautri 25,500; of another peak, probably Nanda Kot. 22.768 feet; and of mountains of Nepal, visible from Patna. 23,052, 23,262, and 24,625 respectively. Colebrooke might have made more startling claims than he did for the supremacy of the Himalaya if more attention had been given to its culminating peaks in the east; but Dwalagiri, of which the height is now assumed to be 26,800, was sufficient for his purpose. He was very nearly right in his estimate of the height of Dwalagiri, and probably nearly right in the peak observed from Pilibhit. which is nearer to our country, if not actually part of it. Colebrooke's articles aroused a storm of criticism, of which we may read in James Baillie Fraser's account of his own travels in the mountains.—(Journal of a tour through part of the Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains, London, 1820.) The author travelled in Kumaon; and although he commits himself to the astonishing statement that there are no glaciers in the snowy range, he did valuable work in exploring the western side of the Nanda Devi Massif and the sources of the Ganges, travelling at a time when the glaciers were covered with snow, so that he did not realise that there was ice underneath. At the same time. the statement is surprising, because he must have seen many ice-falls; and if there is anything which impresses the traveller in the Himalaya it is that every fold in the mountains holds a glacier, so that none but the largest can be given a name. He tells us of how Colebrooke's speculations were received in Europe. Humboldt on the whole accepted Colebrooke's conclusions, realising at the same time the difficulties involved by the consideration of the question of refraction of light, which have not yet been completely solved. He went farther than Colebrooke, and suggested that there were higher mountains still to be discovered, probably moved to this by Colebrooke's mention of a mountain visible at a very great distance from Patna, (which was probably Everest). But the Quarterly Reviewers attacked Colebrooke's conclusions, pointing out that at the heights which he suggested the air could not support clouds. Fraser takes no decided line; but he is troubled by the fact that Moorcroft in ascending the Niti Pass could not have approached 17,000 feet, nor he himself in reaching a similar height, because

at 17,000 feet the air would be so rarefied as to lose the power of expanding the lungs.

Thus our respected elder sister, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was early in the field in encouraging Himalayan exploration. It is interesting to note that of the critics, the man who was really qualified to judge was right, and the rest were wrong. From this time, with further evidence continually coming from the Indian surveyors, it could no longer be maintained that Chimborazo was the highest mountain in the world; but Whymper, in his Travels among the Great Andes of the Equator, quotes a late echo of the controversy from the first edition of Aurora Leigh, (1856):

'I learnt the royal genealogies
Of Oviedo, the internal laws
Of the Burmese empire, by how many feet
Mount Chimborazo outsoars Himmaleh.'

It is curious that Humboldt, who himself in 1802 climbed high in the Equatorial Andes, made a mistake similar to that of Fraser, reporting that they contained no glaciers.

Fraser had travelled in Kumaon during the war of 1816 and after it. From that time the high passes formed the limit of British territory; and visits to the upper Ganges valley became more frequent, although George William Traill, the Commissioner for the affairs of Kumaon, did not encourage outsiders to visit the interior of his district. His discouragement indeed placed such a check on travelling outside the beaten track in Kumaon that a whole generation passed before the existence of Naini Tal was made known to the outer world: though Traill had casually mentioned it in his 'Statistical Account of Kumaon', which he contributed to the sixteenth volume of Asiatic Researches. In the seventeenth volume, which was published in 1832, he gave an account of the Bhotia mahals of Kumaon. By that time the question of whether the Himalaya was as high as Colebrooke had imagined was no longer the subject of controversy. Traill tells us that Webb, who must have been a very accurate observer, had put the height of Nanda Devi at 25,669. Others had placed it somewhat higher; and Traill, taking a mean, puts it at 25,709, still

erring a little on the high side, as Colebrooke had done in his estimate of the height of Dwalagiri. He tells us that, of the passes, the Niti Pass was considered the most easy and the Johar, (Untadhura), the most difficult. He records a tradition, that when the Raja of Kumaon conquered the Tibetans in the Milam Valley, he made a road here, paying a rupee for every cupful of earth which was brought to the pass. 'This tale', says Traill, 'doubtless partakes of the usual style of Eastern hyperbole, but it is deprived of much of its exaggeration, on inspection of the country in that quarter'. The tale certainly is one which rather lays emphasis on the rough nature of the approach to the pass than demands belief; and if the Raja made anything approaching a road, all traces of it have now disappeared, in the tumbled mass of rock and ice, over which the traveller approaches the Untadhura. Traill's account of Nanda Devi may be quoted here.

'No volcano is positively known to exist, but there are grounds for suspecting that the Nanda Devi Peak contains something of the kind: the Bhotias and natives of neighbouring districts bear unanimous testimony to the occasional appearance of smoke on its summit: this is attributed by them to the actual residence of a deity, and has accordingly invested that peak with particular sanctity. A religious mela is held every twelfth year, at the highest accessible point, which is however about a mile from the summit: further progress is rendered impossible by a wall of perpendicular ice. The dangers and difficulties incurred by the pilgrims are represented as most appalling, and of the many hundreds who start at each successive period, not fifty find courage to complete the enterprise.'

The pilgrimage described by Traill is apparently that to the ice-cave at the foot of the Silla Samudar Glacier, on the western face of Triśūl, which as Dr. Longstaff points out is fifteen miles from Nanda Devi. (G.J. LXXI, No. 5, May 1928). Traill had in 1830 made a path up the right lateral moraine of the Pindari Glacier to the head of the upper ice-fall, by which he reached the high névé between 21,624 and 20,740, and descended to the valley of the Goriganga. He was followed in 1855 by Adolphe Schlagintweit; and when Adolphe's brothers published their account of their travels, they described the pass as Traill's Pass, the name by which it has since been known. Adolphe and Robert left Patna on the 29th of March,

1855, and travelling by palki dak and carriage dak, as one or the other was available, reached Naini Tal on the 16th of April. Adolphe left Naini Tal on the 20th of May, and reached Kathi on the 27th. On the 31st he crossed Traill's Pass, and descended by the Lwanl Glacier to the Goriganga to join his brother at Milam. Robert had left Naini Tal on the 17th of May, travelling by the ordinary route to Munsiari, and thence up the valley to Milam. They then spent some time exploring the environs of Nanda Devi and the Milam Glacier, until on the 6th of July, they crossed the Untadhura Pass, and penetrated as far as Gartok in Tibet, returning by the Mana Pass and Badrinath. While on the northern side of the passes, they attained an elevation of 22,260 feet on 'Ibi Gamin', the greatest height hitherto reached. The days had long passed when men thought that Mont Blanc stood for the greatest height at which men could breathe; and the observations of the Schlagintweits on this matter are of a kind very different from those of the earlier travellers. They attributed the diminished power of endurance which they observed above 17,000 feet to the increasing rarety of the air, and difficulties in breathing above about 20,000 to deficiency of oxygen. Their remarks on the effect of diminished pressure agree with the experience of most people at the present day, and are worth quoting:- 'For the generality of people the influence of height begins at 16,500 feet, a height nearly coinciding with that of the highest pasture grounds visited by shepherds. The effects of diminished pressure are considerably aggravated by fatigue. It is surprising to what a degree it is possible for exhaustion to supervene.'

Captain Edmund Smyth, who had already distinguished himself in the Alps, crossed Traill's Pass from the Pindari Glacier in 1861. The difficulties of this crossing were increasing; the great mountaineer T. S. Kennedy was to attempt it and fail in 1883; others looked at it and abandoned the attempt; and it was not again crossed until 1926. Smyth, who was in the Kumaon Division for many years as an officer of the Education Department, travelled far and wide in the hills in the sixties, and left behind him a reputation for being able to go where birds could not fly; but he recorded no account of his

exploits, which must be regarded as unfortunate, although the explanation of his modesty may not be far to seek. In the following decade, the mountains of Kumaon were scientifically surveyed. A detailed survey was made of all the travelled routes, and the position and heights of the peaks were determined with accuracy. The internal detail is naturally less accurate; but when the magnitude of their task is considered, one can fairly find nothing but praise for the work of the surveyors. Major Kenneth Mason has recently told us how in the survey from Kashmir to Kumaon, the theodolite was taken to the top of thirty-seven mountains of over 20,000 feet and of five over 21,000.

In 1883 W. W. Graham, accompanied by the guides Emil Ross and Ulrich Kaufmann, attempted to climb Dunagiri and then entered the Rishi Valley, but was unable to reach the Nanda Devi basin. He reached the top of a peak to which he gave the name of Mount Monal, which he identified with A 21, (Changabang, 22,516). His account of his exploits became at once the subject of controversy, largely his own fault, because he made the Survey of India his antagonists by his unreasonable criticism of the survey maps. Whether his mountain was Changabang or some other peak must be regarded as doubtful. The matter is discussed by the late Mr. Arnold Mumm in his Five months in the Himalaya (pages 107–114). But we need not doubt that he climbed very high, since Dr. Longstaff is satisfied that he actually climbed Changabang, and Mr. Douglas Freshfield has added his testimony, (A.J., Vol. XXIII, No. 173).

In 1893 Dr. Kurt Boeckh visited this area, of which he has given a description in his *Indische Gletscherfahrten*. He visited the Pindari Glacier, whence he returned to Kathi and crossed the hills to the Goriganga Valley. He then went up to Milam, and crossed the Untadhura Pass, descending by way of the Girthi Valley to Malari, and returning by Joshimath.

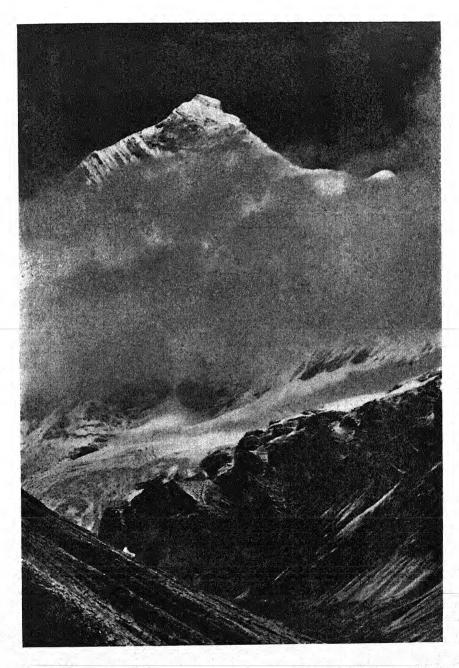
In 1905, Dr. T. G. Longstaff explored the approaches to Triśūl from the south, and the approaches to Nanda Devi and Nanda Kot from the Goriganga Valley. I need not here give details of his journeys which will be described in due course. In 1907, he returned to this area, accompanied by General Bruce

and the late Mr. Arnold Mumm, with the guides Alexis and Henri Brocherel of Courmayeur, and Moritz Inderbinen of Zermatt. The party explored the Bagini Glacier, and crossed the ridge between Dunagiri and Changabang at 20,100 feet. According to the survey map, they should when they had crossed the Bagini Pass have found themselves in a branch of the great ice-basin which surrounds Nanda Devi, but the map was found to be incorrect, and they descended the Rhamani Glacier to the Rishi Valley. From here, crossing the Betatoli Glacier, and ascending by the left moraine of the Triśūli Glacier, Dr. Longstaff accompanied by the Brocherels achieved on the 12th of June his memorable ascent of Triśūl (23,406). Dr. Longstaff, who has made this region peculiarly his own, again visited it in May, 1927, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Ruttledge. The party explored the sources of the Nandakgini, looking for a mountaineer's pass between Nanda Ghunti and Triśūl. An account of their travels was given in the Geographical Journal, Vol. lxxi, No. 5, of May, 1928.

In 1925, Mr. Hugh Ruttledge, then Deputy Commissioner of Almora, accompanied by Mrs. Ruttledge and Colonel (now Major-General) R. C. Wilson, had attempted to cross Traill's Pass from the Pindari Glacier. On that occasion they were not successful; but their reconnaissance was of great value to them in the following year, when they succeeded in crossing the pass from the north. The ascent is described by Major-General Wilson in the Alpine Journal, No. 236 of May, 1928, and the reconnaissance by Mr. Ruttledge in the first number of the Himalayan Journal.

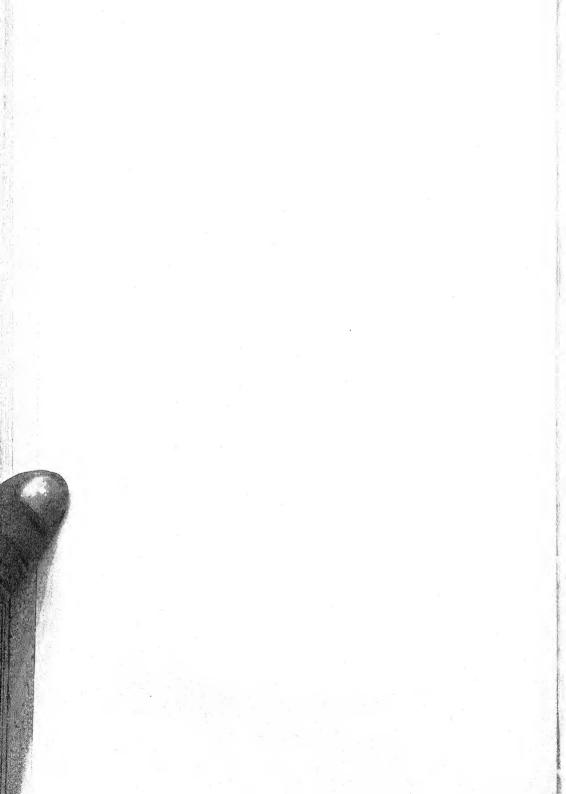
Much has necessarily been omitted in this brief survey of exploration in this area; but I may conclude with a mention of the end of William Moorcroft, one of the most remarkable of the earlier travellers. A veterinary surgeon, and superintendent of the Company's stud, his real passion was for travel and exploration; and after the conclusion of the war with Nepal, he obtained permission to set out on his travels again, with the object of discovering whether horses could be usefully imported from the country beyond Bashahr. He travelled through Bashahr to Ladakh, and thence down to the Punjab, and through

Peshawar to Kabul, whence he reached Bokhara where he died of fever. His account of his travels, so far as his account had reached India was published by Horace Hayman Wilson in 1841. Strange rumours of his end were current, as that he had penetrated to Lhasa in disguise and lived there as a monk, but we need not doubt that Wilson's account of his life and death is correct.

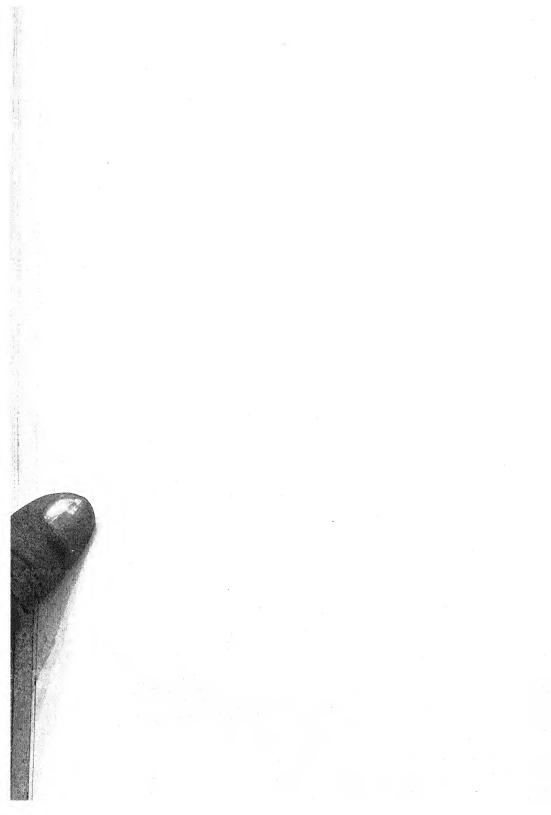


J.B.O.R.S. 1932.

DAWN AND NOON AND SUNSET ARE ONE BEFORE THY FACE. (NANDA DEVI E. PEAK FROM THE LWANL GLACIER.)



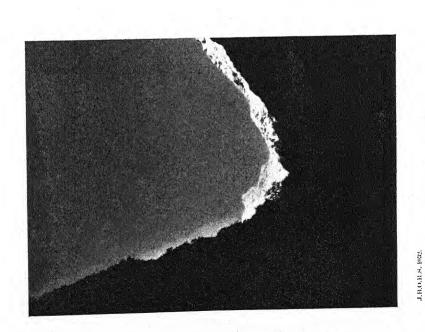
NANDA KOT FROM KHATI.



21624 FROM NEAR PHURKIYA.

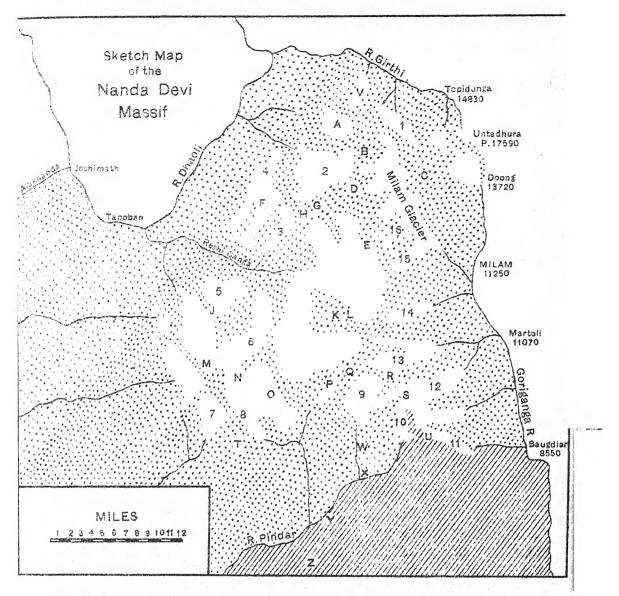


LOOKING NORTH FROM PHURKIYA (NANDA DEVI IS VISIBLE BEHIND THE SLOPES OF 21624).



NANDA DEVI FROM DIWALI.

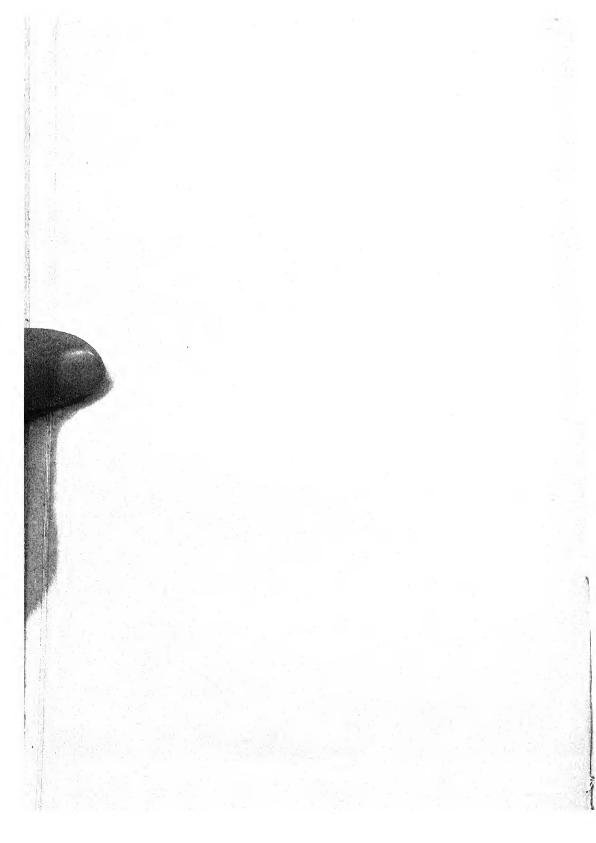




- A. 21341
- B. 23220
- C. 22400
- D. 22940
- E. 21772
- F. Duhagiri 23184
- G. Kalanka 22735
- H. Changabang 22516
- 1. Nanda Ghunti 21286
- J. 20842
- K. NANDA DEVI 25660
- L. Nanda Devi 24379
- M. Trisul 23406
- do 22490

- O. Trisul E. 22360
- P. 21858
- Q. 21624
- R. 20740
- S. Nanda Kot 22530
- T. Simm Saga 20010
- U. 19554
- V. 20344
- W. Phurkiya R.H.
- X. Diwali R. H.
- Y. Kathi R.H.
- Z. Dhakeri R. H. GLACIERS.
- 1. Girthi

- 2. Bagini
- 3. Rhamani
- 4. Dunagiri
- 5. Betatoli
- 6. Trisuti
- 7. Kurumtoli
- 8. Sukeram
- 9. Pindari
- 10. Kuphini
- 11. Poting
- 12. Salung 13. Lwani
- 14. Panchu
- 15. Shakram
- 16. Mangrau.



(Continued from Vol. XVII. Pt. IV.)

न हि प्रकरणवर्षेन श्रुतेर्बचणार्थता न्याया। तसात् जीवने निमित्ते पुरुषस्य प्रत्यवायपरिहाराय प्रयोगान्तरं विधीयते।

२ सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययैक्कर्मताधिकरणम्।

नामरूपधर्मविशेषपुनरुक्तिनिन्दाऽशक्तिसमाप्ति-वचनप्रायश्चित्तान्यार्थदर्शनाच्छाखान्तरेषु कर्मभेदः स्यात्॥ ८॥

ग्राखान्तरेषु किमग्निहोचादि कर्म भिद्यते किं वा सर्व-ग्राखाखेकमेवेति संग्रयः।

तचाविशेषेण पुनः श्रुतिखचणादभ्यासात्प्रकरणान्तरात् भेदः। तथा गुणादपि कचिद्गेदः। ऐन्द्राग्रसेकादशकपाखिमिति कचित् श्रुतम्। श्रन्थच तु द्वादशकपाखिमिति।

तचावश्यमन्यतरेण कर्मण्युत्पाद्यितये तद्गतगुणखोत्पत्तिशिष्ट इति, इतरस्तच निवेशमलभमानो वाजिनवत् कर्मान्तरं कल्पयतीति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

विहितस्वापि पुरुषान्तरं प्रति विधानसभावाद्भेदः। यथा ह्येकप्राखागतमि प्रहोचादिवाक्यं एकपुरुषं प्रति विहितसेवापरं प्रति विधन्ते न तु कर्मान्तरं एविमहापि श्रध्येवभेदात् तान् प्रति सर्वाणि वाक्यान्येव कर्म विद्धति। एवमसिन्धावपि विपरिवृत्त्यभावात् कर्मविधानमाचं सिद्धति न तु भेदः। एवसेकादप्रदादप्रकपाखयो-रिप उत्पत्तिप्रिष्टलात् वलावलं न च प्राखादयमेकोऽधीते। स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतय दति विधिनाऽर्थवोधं प्रति स्वाध्यायस्वोपादीय-मानतया त × × तैकलस्य विविचितलात्। उक्तञ्च—

" खाध्यायग्रहणेनेका गाखा हि परिग्रह्यते^१"॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, पृ० ६४२। चस्य स्नोकस्य दिनीयचरणस्य एवं पवते—'स्कार्यानां विकल्पस्य कर्मेकले विवचिते।"

ज्योतिष्टोमादिनामधेयस्य द्रव्यदेवतास्त्रस्य रूपस्य गुणस्य चा-विग्रेषेण सर्वग्राखासु कर्मण ऐक्यप्रत्यभिज्ञानाच ।

ভনাম্ব—

" सर्वेच प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् संज्ञारूपगुणादिभिः। एककर्मलविज्ञानं न ग्राखाखपगच्छति ।

तदेवं ग्रब्दान्तरादीनि षडिप कर्मभेदकानि सापवादानि निरूपितानि । तत्र संज्ञाग्रब्दान्तरयोरपर्यायग्रब्दलेनाविग्रेषेऽपि ग्रब्दान्तरस्य भावनानुरञ्जकसाध्यक्षतधालर्यप्रतिपादकलेन धालर्था-विक्त्रभावनाप्रतिपादकतया केवलधालर्थप्रतिपादकसंज्ञातो भेदे-नाभिधानम् । संख्यागुणयोस्त्यं भेदः । गुणस्य पूर्वकर्मण्यसभवा-द्वेदकलम् । श्रसभवस्तु उत्पत्तिग्रिष्टैर्न बलीयसाऽवरोधादाक्य-भेदप्रसङ्गिलादा । संख्यायास्तु भिन्नकर्मसु व्यासच्यसमवायेऽपि भेदमन्तरेणानुपपत्तेर्भेदकतिति ।

उत्तच्-

" खरूपानिभधानलात् संज्ञाप्रव्दान्तरात्पृथक् । व्यासञ्चसमवायाच संख्या भिन्ना गुणान्तरात्र "॥ सोऽयं प्रव्दान्तरादिप्रमाणको भेदो व्यक्तेरेव। तथा हि— विधिनाऽनुष्ठेयस्य भेदो सभ्यते। तादृशी च व्यक्तिरेवेति।

श्राह च-

" यत्तेर्यो हि विधीयने सामान्येनोपलचिताः । तसात्तत्ततेनेह भेदाभेदनिरूपणम् "॥

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र० ६४१।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र० ६२६।

३ कारिकेयं तन्त्रवार्त्तिक शास्त्रदीपिकयोर्न द्रश्चते ।

एवच्च समिधो यजतीत्यादौ पच्च खक्तयः। ताच्च देशकाल-यजमानादिभेदेऽपि न भिद्यन्ते। द्रुतादिभेदादिव गकारः। स्राह च—

" पौर्णमासीसमिद्यागादमावास्यो न भिद्यते ।
यजमानान्तरेस्वेवं देशभेदेषु च स्थितम् "॥
न च व्यत्तीनां नित्यलेऽनुष्ठानवेयर्थं श्रभिव्यताभिरेव ताभिः
फलनिष्यत्तेः । श्रथ वा जातिभेद एव प्रतिपाद्यत इति ॥

इति श्रीमीमांसाग्रास्त्रसर्वस्त्रे दितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

समाप्तच दितीयोऽधायः॥

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र- ४५६।

तृतीयाध्याये प्रथमः पादः।

~~ 0 % 0 ∞~

१ प्रतिज्ञाधिकरणम्। ऋषातः ग्रेषलक्षणम्॥१॥

एवं सिद्धे कर्मभेदे को धर्मः किं लचण इति जिज्ञासाविषय-निरूपणे पर्यवसिते कान्यस्य साधनानि कानि साधनाभावानीति जिज्ञासाविषयमूलमङ्गले श्रुत्यादिसहक्रतविनियोगविधिप्रमाणकं श्रुत्यादीनां च बाध्यबाधकभावप्रयोजकं बलाबलं निरूप इति वच्छमाणार्थप्रतिज्ञापकमिदं सूत्रम्।

२ भ्रेषलस्रणाधिकरणम्। भ्रेषः परार्थत्वात्॥२॥

पारार्थ्यं ग्रेषग्रब्दप्रदित्तिनिमित्तिमित्त्यर्थः । तथा च यः परार्थः स ग्रेष इति खरूपमप्यर्थादुत्तम् ।

यत्तु श्रविनाभावः ग्रेषलिमिति तन्न-यथा हि श्रङ्गलाभिमतेन विना श्रिङ्गलाभिमतस्थाभावः। तोयादिभिर्विनेवाङ्करादि। एव-मध्ययनाधानद्रयार्जनादिना विना क्रलभावेन तेषां क्रलङ्गलापत्तेः।

यदिप प्रयोज्यलं ग्रेषलिमिति तदिप न । पुरोडाग्रकपालाहे-स्तुषोपवापाद्यङ्गलाभावप्रसङ्गात् ।

यद्युपकारकलमङ्गलिमित तद्पि न। प्रधानानामिप परस्परा-ङ्गलापत्तेः । द्रव्यार्जनादौनां सर्वकर्माङ्गतापत्तेश्च । ततश्चार्थिमाच-विषयककामश्रुत्या परिग्रहात् वसन्तादिश्रवणानां निमित्तार्थता-पत्तौ शुद्रादौनामधिकारप्रसङ्गः । पश्चङ्गभूतानां प्रयाजादौनां पग्रप्रोडाग्राङ्गलप्रसङ्गाच । तस्रात्पारार्थालचमेव ग्रेषलम् । तच सम्बन्धप्रयुक्तेच्काविषयलम् । यत् सम्बन्धेन हि यत्रेच्का तत्तस्याङ्गम् । तद्क्तम् - ' उद्देशेन हि तादर्थे विविच्यत' इति। ऋत एव शाखि-कुल्यास्त्रसुदकं पिवन्तिप न कश्चिनादर्थमेताः प्रणीता द्रायध्वस्यति ।

क्यं तर्हि श्रुत्यादिलचणं प्रेषलम्। न हि सोसेन यजेतेति हतीयया परोद्देशप्रहत्तलं सोमखोच्यत इति चेत्-

न । श्रुत्यादीनां पारार्थात्तिधायकलेऽपि विधिसहितानां तेषामर्थापत्था तदगमकलात्। चेतनप्रवर्तनात्मा हि विधिः। न चानुदिष्टफाले व्यापारे चेतनः प्रवर्तयितुं प्रकात इति ऋयीदिधि-विषयस्य व्यापारस्य फलोद्देशप्रवन्ततावगम्यते । फलार्थस्य व्यापारोऽपि पालवदेवाभिलाधित इति तत् साधनलेन श्रुत्यादिभिरवगतानां यागादीनां तत् साधनलेन च विह्तितानां सोमादीनां तदुदेशप्रवृत्तिः सिध्यति । तसाद्युत्तं श्रुत्यादिगम्यं पारार्घ्यन्नचणं प्रेषलिमिति ॥

३ शेषलख्याधिकरणम्। द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारेषु वादिरः॥३॥

पूर्वीताग्रेषलस्थैवायं प्रपञ्चः। दिधा हि तत्। नैयमिकमा-पेचिकलं च। तवाद्यं यथा ब्रीह्यादीनामारुखादीनां संमार्गादीनां च ग्रेषलम् ।

नचेषामपि खाङ्गानि प्रति प्रधानलात् यागं प्रति च गुणभावात् श्रापेचिकलमेव ग्रेषलमिति चेत-

न। यं प्रति भेषलं तं प्रति न भेषिलमित्याभयात्। दितीयं तु यागादीनाम् । यागो हि निर्वर्तकं पुरुषं प्रति प्रधानं फलं प्रति

१ तन्त्रवात्तिके ६६८ प्रछे द्रष्ट्यम्।

च गुणः । श्रत एव फलस्वामिनं पुरुषं प्रति सुतरां गुणोऽपौत्यादि बोध्यम् । तदुत्रं सूत्रक्षता—

कर्माण्यपि जैमिनिः फलार्थत्वात्॥ ४॥ फलच्च पुरुषार्थत्वात्॥ ५॥ पुरुषय तदर्थत्वात्॥ ई॥

द्ति। श्राचार्याश्चाः-

"द्रव्यादेर्थंत्र भेषलं तत्र नैवास्ति भेषिता। फलवागनराणां तु द्वाकारलं परस्परम् ॥

द्दं च वसुटत्तापेचसुच्यते । न तु व्यवहारार्थम् । श्रन्थया श्रङ्गलांग्रेन विक्रतौ फलपुरूषयोरप्यतिदेशे सिद्धान्तहानिः स्थादिति बोध्यम् ॥

४ निर्वापणादौनां व्यवस्थितविषयताधिकरणम्। तेषामर्थेन सम्बन्धः॥ ७॥

कः ग्रेषः केन हेत्ना च इति दयमपि निरूपितम् । कथं विनियुच्यत इति निरूप्यते । दर्भपूर्णमासयोर्निर्वपणप्रोचणावघातादय श्रीषधधर्माः जत्पवनादय श्राज्यधर्माः ग्राखाहरणादयः साम्नाय्य-धर्माः श्रुताः ।

तेषु संग्रयः। किं सर्वे श्रेषधे श्राच्ये साम्नाये च कर्तवा उत यथासमावं व्यवस्थिति। किं प्राप्तम्—

> "एकमेव फला पूर्व फलस्यैकस्य सिद्धये। कल्प्यं नान्यानि धर्माणां तादर्थात्मद्वरो भवेत्र"॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिको बृतेयं कारिका, ए० ६०५।

२ शास्तदीपिकाकारैरपि ध्वेयं कारिका, ४० १८८।

श्रवघातादयो बीह्यादिभिरपूर्वसाधनतांग्रेन संवधते। ख-रूपार्थलमानर्थकात् । तचापूर्वं सर्वेषामाग्नेयादीनामेकफलसाधन-लादेक्सेव कल्यते न तु बह्ननि । तदर्थञ्चावघातस्त्दीये इविषि कर्तवः । तदीयलं चाच्यादीनामप्यविष्रष्टम् । श्रतो यथा बीह्रिषु श्रुतोऽवघातो यवेष्वपि भवति, एवमाच्यादिष्वपीति युक्तम् । सन्त् वावान्तरापूर्वाणि तथापि तानि निष्फललाद्यागखरूपवदेव न धर्माणां प्रयोजकानि परमापूर्वसेव तु फलवलात्प्रयोजकम्। भवन्तु वाऽवान्तरापूर्वाखेव प्रयोजकानि तथापि प्रकरणाविशेषात् सर्वाणि सर्वेषां प्रयोजकानि । तसात् सङ्गर् द्रत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

सन्ति तावदवान्तरापूर्वाणि तैर्विना त्राग्रतरविनाप्रिना-माग्नेयादीनां संहत्य परमापूर्वजनकलायोगादित्युक्तमपूर्वाधिकरणे। तादर्थमेव चावघातादेर्युकम्। प्रत्यासत्तेः। ब्रीहिणब्दो हि यागदारे लापूर्वसुपस्थापयन् प्रथमं तत्रेव निपतति । तस्य चाज्ञात-प्रकारलात् परमापूर्वसाधकलेन च फलवत्त्वात्तदिक्रमो न न्यायः। सत्यपि च सर्वेषां प्रकर्णाविशेषे श्रुतेर्वजीयस्वावगमादसंकरः। एवं चावघातादेर्दृष्टार्घता भवति । तसाद्यथासंयोगं व्यवस्था ॥

पू स्फादीनां संयोगानुसारेण व्यवस्थितत्वाधि-कर्णम्।

द्रव्यं चीत्पत्तिसंयोगात्तदर्थमेव चोद्येत ॥ ११ ॥

दर्भपूर्णमासयोः 'स्फाश्च कपालानि चे 'त्युपक्रम्य 'एतानि वै दश यज्ञायुधानी'ति श्रुतम् । तथा 'स्फोनोद्भन्ती 'त्यादीनि ।

तच किं स्फादिना येन यत्कर्ते प्रकां तत्वीं कार्यमुत यथा-संयोगसुद्धनना द्वेति संप्रयः।

तत्रायुधग्रब्दस्य साधनवत्तनलात् यज्ञसाधनलं गम्यमानं साचा-दसस्भवदंगेष्ववतरदविशेषात्सर्वाङ्गेषु ज्ञायते । उद्धननादिसंयोग-स्तनेनैव प्राप्तलादवयुत्यानुवाद इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

एवं सित वह्ननासुद्धननादिवाक्यानामानर्थ्यकां स्थात् उद्धनने स्म्यादन्येषामपि पचे प्राप्तौ नित्यवच्छ्रवणविरोधस्य । तस्मादेतानि वाक्यानि विधायकानि । यज्ञायुधवाकां लेतेरेव प्राप्तार्थलात् वैग्रब्दोपबन्धात्। श्रास्थाताभावाच्चानुवादकम् । न चास्थानर्थकाम् । यज्ञायुधानि सम्भवन्तीत्यनन्तरश्रुतासादनविधिग्रेषलात् ।

तस्मादस्थानुवादलादितरे विधयो मताः। तेन स्फादिर्थवस्था स्थात्कार्येषूद्धननादिषु॥

ई त्रारुण्यादिगुणानामसंकीर्णताधिकरणम्।
त्रियेकत्वे द्रव्यगुणयोरैककर्म्यान्वियमः स्थात्॥१२॥
च्योतिष्टोमे त्रूयते 'त्ररुण्या पिङ्गाच्या एकहायन्या सोमं
कीणाती'ति। तचारुणप्रब्दोऽयमाक्तयधिकरणन्यायेन गुणवचनः।
न तु गुणगतजातिवचनः। शुक्कादियकीनामेकैकलात्।

श्राह च-

"एतेव दिशा वाच्या ग्रुक्तादेरिप नित्यते"ति। पवान्तरे तु तक्ततजातिवचनः। उभयथापि द्रव्ये लाचिणिकः। न च मतुपा-द्यौगिक दति वाच्यम्। लोपाद्याख्यानदारा निरूढलचण्या एवो-पपादितलात्। सा चार्थश्रकिः यद्यपि श्रक्त्यन्तरक्त्यनागौरवं तुन्धं तथापि श्रभिधेयमाचप्रत्ययनेन श्रब्द्ख निवृत्तव्यापारलात् श्रर्थ-प्रत्ययस्य चाक्ततार्थलाद्र्थश्रक्तिरेव प्रमाणवती न श्रब्द्शक्तिः। "या लादिमती लचणा नासौ श्रास्त्रेण गम्यते। यथा खिग्धो रस दत्यादौ रसश्रब्द्ख द्रव्यलचणा।

त्राह च-

निरूढा लच्छाः काश्चित्सामर्थाद्भिधानवत् । कियन्ते साम्प्रतं काश्चित् काश्चित्नेव लग्नकितः ॥

"पिङ्गाच्यैकहायनीप्रब्दो योगिको। सामानाधिकर्ण्यादेक-द्रय्यवचनो। गुणाधिक्यफलं च प्रब्द्दयम्। न चैकेन विहितेऽपरेण विधिनं सम्भवतीति वाच्यम्। उभयोरपि श्रुत्यैव द्रय्यवाचकयो-र्युगपत्पद्यक्तेः ।

नन्नयोरिप गुणवचनलमेव । मलर्थेव ब्रीहिविधानात् मतुपञ्च सम्बन्धवाचकलादिति चेत्—न । मतुपः प्रक्रत्यर्थाविधिष्टद्रयवाचक-लात् । सम्बन्धस्य च तदनन्तरं ऋर्थात् प्रतीतेः । न च खक्तीनामानंत्य-यभिचाराभ्यां ऋनभिधेयलमिति वाच्यम् । एकोपलचणेन प्रक्ति-यहसंभवात् । यद्यपि उपलचणीभृता दण्डादियक्यो नाना तथापि जात्या तदनुगमः । न जातिरिप दण्डलदण्डवलादिरननुगतेति वाच्यम् । प्रक्रत्यर्थलेन तदनुगमात् ।

माह च-

" सर्वच यौगिकै: ग्रब्देई यमेवाभिधीयते ।

न हि सम्बन्धवाच्यवं सम्भवत्यतिगौरवात् ॥

प्राक् प्रतौतिकसम्बन्धिविधिष्टेऽभिहिते परे ।

सम्बन्धिन्येव सम्बन्धः प्रतीत इति नोच्यते ॥

श्रानन्येऽपि हि भावानामेकं क्रवोपनचणम् ।

ग्रब्दः सुकरसम्बन्धो न च यभिचरियति ? "॥

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र० ७००।

२ शास्तदीपिका, ४०१८०।

र तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ६८८, ६८१, ६८१।

न चैवं दण्डिलमितिलप्रत्ययेन सम्बन्धो नाभिधीयत इति वाच्यम्। भावप्रत्ययस्य समवेतगुणगाहिलनियमेनार्थप्राप्तसम्बन्धस्थैक-वाच्यलात्। न चैवमपि बज्जबीहावन्यपदार्थो खच्च एवास्तिति वाच्यम्। श्रनेकमन्यपदार्थे इति स्नर्णादवग्धं प्रतीतेश्च वाच्यला-भ्युपगमात्।

"तदिशारिणमानं प्रति सन्देशः। किमेनं वाक्यात् भिला प्रकरणेन सर्वद्रयोषु विनिवेग्रयामः किं वा क्रीणातिना सम्बध्य तदक्षीभृतं एकश्चायन्यामेवेति।

ਨ'=__

श्रमूर्तलाद्गुणो नैव क्रियां साधियतुं चमः। तस्मात्कीणातिना नास्य सम्भवत्येकवास्यताः "॥

तसादाकां भिला प्रकरणे निवेधनीयः। तथा हि— "प्राति— पदिकं गुणवचनमपि खचणया द्रष्ट्यम्। द्रयञ्च तिर्वायसंयोगा— त्करणम्। एवं च गुणविधिष्ठद्रये करणतया प्रतीतविधेयाणि करणद्रयाणि प्रकरणगतान्यनूय विधेषणभूतो गुणः परिच्छेदकलेन विधीयते। येन द्रयेण किंचित् क्रियते तेनारुणगुणकेनेति।

नन्वेवं खितस्य द्रव्यस्य क्रयकरणलमेवास्य किं वाक्यभेदेनेति वाच्यम् । श्रौतैकहायन्यवरुद्धे तिस्मन् खितद्रव्यान्तर्विधाना-योगात् । न चैकहायनीसेवानूद्य गुणो विधीयतामिति वाच्यम् । क्रयं प्रति गुणीस्ताया विधीयमानायास्तस्य गुणं प्रति प्रधानी-भवनायोगात् । प्राकरणिकद्रव्याणि तु वाक्यान्तर्विहितानि प्रकानेऽनुविदित्तम् "।

१ मास्त्रदीपिका, ४० १८०-१८१।

२ मास्तदीपिका, ए० १८१-१८२।

" श्रतश्च पदमेवैतदाकोनेंवं विभन्यते । या यक्तिः करणलेन चोदिता पूर्वसाधनम् ॥ तया तत्साधयेन्नित्यमरणलविणिष्टया । एवं चेदरणं कायं करणं यद्गदाद्यपि^१ "॥

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

" वतीयया गुणस्थैव करणलं क्रयं प्रति । विस्पष्टं गम्यते तच्च द्रयदारेण युज्यते ?" ॥

त्रर्थादाकास्य नैकदेशलादिति न्यायेन यथाशकुयादिखुपवन्धे सित द्रव्यपिक्वेदसुखेन गुणस्य कर्णलमवधार्यते। न ह्येकक्पेव सर्वेषां साधनता। एवं च "श्रोतस्येव गुणस्य क्रयेकवाकालेन लचणा-वाकाभेदस्य न युज्यते। यदा च क्रयार्थलं तदा तदीयद्रव्ये निविशादेकहायन्याभेवास्य निवेशः "। न च वासःप्रस्टित्यपि निवेशापित्तः तेषां क्रयान्तरद्रव्यलात्। प्रतिवाकां हि भिन्नाः क्रयाः। उत्पत्तिशिष्टद्रव्यान्तरावरुद्धे द्रव्यान्तरनिवेशायोगात्। न चैवं "क्रयणेषु तु विकन्धः स्था "दित्यधिकरणे द्रव्याणां विकन्धससुचय-चिन्ता कथमिति वाच्यम्। तत्र क्रयाणां विकन्धससुचय-चिन्ता कथमिति वाच्यम्। तत्र क्रयाणां स्वकन्धादिचिन्तनात् तथा चैकिकियावशिक्तत्योर्द्रव्यगुणयोः परस्परावच्छेदकलसिद्धः। गुणो हि श्रन्यथानुपपत्या श्रश्नुतं यद्द्यमाचिपित तत् श्रुतैकहायनीकः क्रयो न ग्रह्णाति। तथा एकहायन्यपि यं गुणमश्रुतमानयित तं श्रुतारुणिमगुणकः क्रयो न ग्रह्णाति। एवं च श्रुतयोरेव परस्पर-सन्वस्थेन परिपूर्णलात् नाश्रुतकन्धनावकागः। एवं च वाकागतमपि सामानाधिकरण्यं समर्थितम् ।

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ६८६।

१-३ शास्तदीपिका, प्र०१८२।

४ अन तन्त्रवात्तिकानुक्पाः पङ्क्षयः, ४० ७०१-७१०।

यसु प्रकरणे निवेशं मन्यते तस्य गुणविधायकमेव दुर्नभम्। श्रक्षणपदस्य विधिश्रक्तिविरहात्। प्रयोगविधेश्च कियामाच-ग्राहकलात्। तसादिकवाकातानियमश्चेति सिद्धम्॥

श्रहसस्मार्जनाधिकरणम् ।एकत्वयुक्तमेकस्य श्रुतिसंयोगात् ॥ १३ ॥

च्योतिष्टोमे श्रुतं 'ग्रहं समाष्टीं'ति । तत्र किं ग्रहैकलं विवचितसुत नेति संग्रयः । यद्यप्रपौर्षेयवेदे वक्तीच्छारूपा विवचा न सम्भवत्येव तथापि न्यायगम्यो विधिग्रत्यधीनः परिग्रहात् न विवचा ।

यदा-

" न्यायेन संप्रदायादा ये मीमांसकयाज्ञिकाः । वेदं व्याचचते तेषामभिष्रायोऽयसुच्यते ॥ तत्र श्रुतिबलाद्यदत् संख्योपादेयगामिनौ । विवचिता तथोद्देश्यगता श्रुत्यविशेषतः र " ॥

एवं प्राप्ते जूम:—

"जातेरमूर्तवादिह च्योतिष्टोमापूर्वसाधनानि द्रव्याणि तथा खच्यन्ते। तानि च संमार्गं प्रति यदि गुणभ्रतानि खुर्यागं प्रति पग्रिरिव ततो येन केनापि सिद्धेर्न सर्वच संमार्गः क्रियते। न हि यावहुणं प्रधानादृक्तः। ततश्च कियता द्रव्येण संमार्गः कर्तव्य द्रत्यपेचायां परिच्छेदकलेन संख्या विधीयते पश्चेकलवत्। दृह तु संमार्गः प्रति द्रव्याणि प्रधानानि दितीयानिर्देशात् प्रयोजन-

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ०१७-०१८।

२ मास्तदीपिका, ए० १८३।

वन्ताच। प्रतिप्रधानं च गुणाविन्तिरिति निश्चयान्न परिच्छेदाकाङ्का।
त्रातः श्रुतापि संख्यानादर्त्व्या। परिच्छेदकत्या हि तस्थाः
क्रियान्वयः। न च परिच्छेदोऽपरिच्छिके भवतीति दाराभावान्न
क्रियान्वयः संख्यायाः। न च सर्वद्रव्यसंमार्गे प्राप्ते एकवचनश्रुतिः
परिसंख्यार्थेति वाच्यम्। तस्यास्त्रिदोषलात्। न चैवं परिसंख्यो—
च्छेदः " यच सामान्यप्रापणमानुमानिकवाक्यक्यं विग्रेषे च
प्रत्यचवाक्यात्प्राप्तिर्थया मामग्रभणविश्वनास्तर्खेत्यश्वाभिधानीमादन्त
द्रत्यच तच फलतः परिसंख्येति व्यवहारात् वस्तुतस्तु सर्वस्वाप्यपूर्व—
विधिलात्। न च तच चिदोषता। प्रत्यचश्रुत्या ग्रीषप्रदा(द ?) तथा
त्रश्वाभिधान्यां विनियुक्तस्य सन्तस्य निराकांचलेन लेक्निकश्रुति—
कल्यनाया एव तच निरोधात्।

श्राह च-

"सामान्यप्रापणाग्रङ्का वाक्याद्यवानुमानिकात्। श्रुतात्माप्तिर्विग्रेषे च परिसंख्या तदाश्रया^र॥ श्रप्राप्तविधिरेवायमतो मंत्रस्य निश्चितः। परिसंख्याफलेनोका न विग्रेषपुनःश्रुतेः ^२ ॥

किंच-

"ग्रहस्य संस्टेजेंदेतत्प्रधानं गुण एव वा ।

सर्वथा वाक्यभेदः स्थादतो नास्य विधेयता "॥

गहोद्देशेन हि संमार्गस्य एकलस्य विधानेऽर्घदयविधानादाक्य—
भेदः। एकलस्य च ग्रहस्बरूपमान्नोपचयात् संमार्गविशेषकतयाः

१ भास्तदीपिका, ए० १८६-१८४।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ए० ७२७।

३ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र० ७२९।

४ मास्त्रदीपिका, ए॰ १९४।

सर्वसंमार्गप्रसङ्गः । न च संमार्गान्विते ग्रन्ते एकलविधिः । संमार्गस्य विधेयतया उद्देश्यपरिग्रेषणलायोगात् । त्रयेकलविग्रिष्टग्रहानुवादेन संमार्गविधिलाई सर्वेषां प्रत्येकमेकलात् स्थादेव प्रसङ्गः । न चकलविग्रिष्टसमार्गविधिः । तथायेकलस्य दितीयाश्रुत्या प्राधा-न्यावगमात् प्रतिप्रधानं संमार्गा त्यापित्तः (?) । न च सकु-वत् खचण्या ग्रणलम् । सुख्यार्थसमावे तदयोगात् । तथा सित ग्रह्मापि ग्रणलापत्तेश्च । न हि सदुपत्ता (सक्षदुपात्ता?) दितीया-(विभित्तः?)ग्रहस्य प्राधान्यं श्रुत्या वक्तुमेकलस्य च ग्रणलं खचित्तं चमते । पग्नौ तु द्रयस्य निष्ययोजनलात् सक्तुवदग्रणाभावे कल्यिते जातिद्रयसंख्या जिङ्गानां उपादेयलाद्वेष्ट्या दिग्निष्टैकभावना विधि-रिति वैषम्यम् । स्रवानुवाद्य विग्रेषणमिववित्तं विधेयविग्रेषणं तु विविचितम् । न द्रद्देश्यलोपादेयलयोरादरः । तेन ब्राह्मणः सुरां पिवेदित्यादौ उपादेयस्यापि ब्राह्मणस्यानुवाद्यतया जिङ्गाविवचा ।

" नोपादेयलमेवैकं कारणलेन समातम् । विभेषणविवचायाः कारणं हि महदिधिः ? "॥

८ चमसादौ संमार्गाद्यप्रयोगाधिकरणम्। संस्कारादा गुणानामव्यवस्था स्यात्॥ १६॥

एकलवत् ग्रहलमर्थविवचितसुताविवचितिमिति विचारः। "तच संमाष्टीत्युक्ते सोमावसेकनिर्ছर्णप्रयोजनतया सोमपाचाणामित्यव-गमाङ्ग्यः कस्थेत्यपेचाविरहाद्विवचितं महत्त्वम्।

१ अत्र तन्त्रवात्तिकानुरूपाः पङ्कत्यो द्रष्ट्याः, ए० ७४४।

२ अवापि तन्त्रवात्तिकानुरूपाः पङ्कायो द्रष्ट्याः, ए० १४१।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० १४१।

निं च-

सोमयागस्वैकलात्तत्पूर्वमपि एकसेव। तत्साधननिवेशी च संमार्गश्चमसेव्यपि भवितुमईति । श्रवघातादीनां लपूर्वभेदाञ्चवस्थेति वैषम्यमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

> न हि ग्रहविवचायां वाक्यभेदः प्रसञ्यते । यागैकलेऽप्यपूर्वाणि भिद्यन्तेऽभ्यासभेदतः॥

श्रवश्यं हि समार्गः कस्य चिदिधातयः। तत्र प्रब्दोपनीतं यहसुलङ्घा सामर्थालभ्यं सोमपाचमाचयहणं न युनाम्। एकखापि च यागस्य प्रत्यभ्यासमपूर्वं भिद्यते । श्रन्यथाभ्यासानां संहत्यकारिलायोगात्। ततश्च यहग्रब्द्लचितापूर्वविशेषनिबन्धनः संमार्गी न चमसेषु कर्तव्यः १ " ॥

६ सप्तद्शारित्ततायाः पशुधर्मताधिकरणम्। त्रानर्थकात्तदंगेषु ॥ १८ ॥

'सप्तद्यार्तिर्वाजपेयस्य यूप' दति श्रूयते । तच किं सप्तद्भार्तिलं वाजपेयसाधनभृतोर्ध्वपाचदारेण वाज-पेयाङ्गसुत यूपदारेण पश्चङ्गमिति संग्रयः।

तच वाजपेयखेति षष्ट्या तत्सम्बन्ध्यूर्ध्वपाचसुद्दिष्य विधीयमानं सप्तद्रशार्तिलं तद्वारेण वाजपेयाङ्गम्। यूपप्रब्दस्त ऊर्ध्वनन-खादिरवादिगुणयोगात् षोडग्रपाचस्वैवानुवादः । स च जघन्यवाच दोषः। न च वाजपेयस्य यो यूप इति सम्बन्धः। यूपस्य पशुसम्बन्धिलात् वाजपेयस्य ग्रब्दस्य खाङ्गपशुखचकलापत्तेः। न च मुख्यस्य जन्नणा युक्ता। तस्मादूर्ध्वपाचे निवेश इति प्राप्ते त्रूमः—

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए॰ १८५-१८ई।

"स्वादेवं यदि यूपेन सम्बन्धे जचणा भवेत्। वाजपेयश्रुतेर्नासौ श्रुतिवृत्त्येव सा यतः॥ षष्ठी सम्बन्धमाचार्या नाङ्गाङ्गिलमपेचते। नाणव्यवधिसम्बन्धं देवदत्तस्य नृतवत्॥ यूपस्य च पग्रदारा वाजपेयोपकारतः। सम्बन्धमाचमस्त्र्येव क्रतुनातो न जचणा॥ १भवतस्त्र भवेदेव यूपप्रब्दस्य जचणा। तेन सप्तद्यारिक्षयूप द्रत्येव सङ्गितिः "॥

१० त्रिभक्रमणादीनां प्रयाजमाचाङ्गताधिकरणम् ॥ कर्त्वगुणे तु कर्मासमवायाद्वाकाभेदः स्यात् ॥ १८ ॥

दर्भपूर्णमासयोः प्रयाजसभीपे श्रूयते—'श्रभिकामं जुहोती'ति "होमानुवादेन विधीयमानमभिक्रमणं किं प्राकरणिकसर्वहोमाङ्गं उत प्रयाजहोमस्यैवेति संग्रयः। तद्र्थमवान्तरप्रकरणमस्ति न वेति चिन्यते। तच—

> पाजवद्भावनोद्भृतक्यंभावितरोहिताः । नैवांगानां क्यंभावाः प्रादुखन्ति तमन्तरा ॥ प्रादुखुर्यदि चाङ्गानां क्यंभावास्ततो मिथः । तेषामङ्गाङ्गितापत्तेरखवस्था प्रसच्यते ॥

१ अत्र शास्त्रदीपिकायां निम्नलिखिता अपि कारिकाः पयनी—

"जर्ध्वपात्रेण सम्बन्धे यूपश्रन्दस्य गीणता।
अनन्तरेण सम्बन्धः प्रधानेन च सङ्गतिः॥
प्रक्रियानुग्रहस्यैगं नाहत्यः श्रुतिवाधतः।
तेन सप्तद्यशारितर्यूप इत्येव सङ्गतिः"॥
'भवतस्त्रि'त्यादि पंक्षिस् कापि न दश्यते।
२ शास्त्रदीपिका, प्र० १८६-१८०।

तसान्नावान्तरप्रकरणम् । न च तदभावेऽपि सन्निधि-माचेणाभिक्रमणस्य प्रयाजाङ्गतास्त्रिति वाच्यम्। वलीयसा प्रकर्णेन दर्भपूर्णमासभावनया सम्बन्धात्। तसान्तदीयसकलहोमाङ्गमभि-क्रमणमिति प्राप्ते त्रूमः—

" भवेदेवं प्रयाजानां नास्ति प्रकरणं यदि ।
तेषां वचनसंयुक्ता ये गुणा विह्निताः पुरा ॥
पञ्चाच ये विधाखन्ते तैः सन्दष्टमिदं श्रुतम् ।
श्रिभिकामं जुहोतीति न ततोऽन्यच गच्छिति ॥

प्रयाजान् विधाय समानयत उपस्त द्राहिगुणान्विधाय श्रमिकामं जुहोतीत्युक्ता 'यो वे प्रयाजानां मिथुनिम'त्यादौ प्रयाजानिष्दा हवीं व्यभिघारयतौति यावत्प्रयाजपरामर्भदर्भनान्त- न्यथ्यपितमिभिनिक्षमणं तदङ्गमेव । श्रील ह्यङ्गभावनानामय- विज्ञातप्रकार्लात् कथिमित्याकाङ्का ।

तथापि-

न विद्यते तु संदंशो यत्र वाचिनकेर्गुणैः।
तत्राङ्गानां कथंभावः सन्नप्यविनियोजकः॥
निष्पाललेन सर्वेषां न विशेषोऽवगम्यते।
कः श्रेषः कस्य श्रेषिलमतः सर्वं प्रधानगम्॥
श्रव्यवस्थाप्रसित्तश्च योक्ता सेवं निराक्तता।
सन्दंशे सित संदष्टं तदङ्गमितरत्पुनः॥
सर्वं प्रधानगामौति नाय्यवस्था प्रसच्यते ।

एकदेशिनां तु श्रवान्तरप्रकरणान्धुपगमात् सर्वार्थमभिक्रमणं स्वादिति दूषणं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए० १८८।

२ ग्रास्त्रदीपिका, ४० १८८-१९९।

११ उपवीतस्य प्राकरियकाङ्गताधिकर्णम्। सन्दिग्धे तु व्यवायाद्याक्यभेदः स्यात्॥ २१॥

"दर्शपूर्णमासयोः सामिधेनीर्विधाय विःप्रथमामन्वाहेत्यादिभि-र्वचनेस्तासां गुणान् विधाय निविदो नाम मन्त्रा देवेद्वो मन्त्रिद्ध दत्याद्यो विहिताः। ततः काम्याः सामिधेनीकस्पा विहिताः। तदनन्तरं यज्ञोपवीतमासातं 'उपव्ययते देवस्त्रसमेव तत्कुरुत' इति। ततः पुनर्पि सामिधेनीनासेव वाचनिका गुणा विधास्यन्ते श्रन्तरान्त्र्यं सदेवलायेति।

तदचोपवीतं प्रति संगयः—सामिधेन्यङ्गसुत दर्भपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति। तद्धं च किं सामिधेनीनामवान्तरप्रकरणं निविद्भिविच्छिन्न-सुतोपवीतविधावनुवर्तत दति।

श्रनुष्टन्तो तदङ्गलं विच्छिने दर्भग्रेषता ।

किं प्राप्तमुभयचापि कीर्तनादनुवर्तते ॥

पुरस्तादुपवीतस्य परस्ताचापि कीर्तनम् ।

विद्यते सामिधेनीनामतः प्रकरणास्तिता ॥

निविदामपि ताद्थं तत्क्यंभावसङ्गतेः ।

न चाङ्गिर्व्यवधीयन्ते प्रधानानि कथंचन ॥

काम्येष्यपाश्रयत्नेन तासामप्यनुवर्तनम् ।

उपवीतमतस्तासामङ्गं प्रकरणाङ्गवेत् ॥

एवं प्राप्ते वदामोऽच निविद्भिर्यवधानतः ।

विच्छिन्ना सामिधेनीनां प्रक्रिया नानुवर्तते ॥

यत्तु निविदोऽणवान्तरप्रकरणेन सामिधेन्यङ्गलाद्व्यवधायका दित तन्न । खिंगेन प्रकरणं बाधिला निविदामग्रिसमिन्धनाङ्ग-लात् । तेनासम्बन्धिभिर्निवित्यदैर्दर्भपूर्णमासाङ्गैर्विच्छनं सामिधेनीनां प्रकरणं नोपनीतं गरहाति ।

नन्वेवं निविदासेवाङ्गं तत् । तासां प्रकरणाभावात् । तस्मात्रकरणाद्दर्भपूर्णमासाङ्गनेवोपवौतिमिति १ ॥

१२ गुणानां मिथोऽसम्बन्धाधिकरणम्। गुणानां च परार्थत्वात् ऋसम्बन्धः समत्वात्स्यात्॥२२॥

"त्राधानप्रकरणे वारणवैकंकतानि पात्राणि श्रूयको—वारणो यज्ञावचरो वैकंकतो यज्ञावचर दति पवमानेष्टयोऽष्याधानप्रकरणे एव प्रदेशान्तरे श्रुताः।

तत्र पात्रेषु सन्देहः किं पवमानेश्वङ्गसुत यज्ञमात्राङ्गमिति । तद्धं च किं पवमानहवीं व्याधानाङ्गसुत तान्यव्याधानेन सम-प्रधानान्यग्वर्धानीति ।

किं प्राप्तं "श्राधानस्य दितीयासंयुक्ताग्निसंस्कारार्थतया फल-वन्तादफलानि पवमानस्वौषि प्रकरणान्तदङ्गम् "। तथा चं यज्ञसम्बन्धात् साचादाधानेऽसंभवन्यपि पाचाणि श्रानर्थक्यान्तदङ्ग-न्यायेन पवमानस्वःष् निविधन्त दति।

श्रवोच्यते-

"यदाइवनीये जुहोतीति वाक्यादेषामग्यर्थता। नन्वनारभ्य-वादोऽयं सर्वहोमांगमाइवनीयं विधत्ते न लाइवनीयाङ्गलं पवमान-हिवषामिति चेत्—

> त्रनारम्यविधानेन सत्यं नाम्यर्थता भवेत् । तत्त्र्ः वाक्यमस्यन्यत्पवमानेष्टिसंनिधौ ॥

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २००-२०१।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, प्र० २०३।

३ शास्त्रदीपिका, प्र० २०३।

४ 'पवमानेष्टिच्चि'ति शास्त्रदीपिकासिमतः पाठः, ए० १०३।

तेन चाम्चर्थतया पवमानहवीं पि विधीयन्ते । सप्तमी च साध्यतं जचयति । तप्ते पयसि दध्यानयतीतिवत् । तसाद्वाच्ये-नाधानवत् पवमानहविषामम्चर्थतान्नाधानाङ्गलम् । श्रतः सर्व-यज्ञार्थानि पाचाणीति १ अभायकाराः ।

श्राचार्थास्तु "किमनेनाश्रुतवाक्यकस्पनाक्षेशेन श्रन्यथाणेतदुप-पद्यत एव । भवन्तु नाम पवमानहवीं खाधानाङ्गं तथापि न तच पाचाणि भवन्ति । वाजपेयस्य यूप इति हि यूपग्रहणात् व्यवहित-सम्बन्धेऽपि च षष्ट्युपपत्तेस्तथा कस्पितम् । न लिहैवं किंचिदस्ति ।

यत्तु यज्ञावचरग्रहणं तत्रक्षतयज्ञाभावात् श्रनारभ्यवादक्षेण सर्वच विद्धाति । तच्चैतत्पूषाद्यनुमंचणन्यायेनैव सेत्यतीति नार्थोधि- करणेन । सूचं तु पूर्वस्थैव ।

नतु निविदां सामिधेन्यंगलाच व्यवधायकलमत त्राह्-'गुणानां च परार्थला'दिति " निगदव्याख्यातम्॥

१३ वार्चध्रिधिकरणम्। मिथश्रानर्थसम्बन्धात्॥ २३॥

"दर्भपूर्णमासयोराग्नेयः सौम्यञ्चाच्यभागी विहितो। तयोः क्रमेणानुवाच्याचतुष्टयमान्तातं त्राग्नेयीसौमीत्येकं युगलं पुनराग्नेयीमौमी चेत्यपरम्। तच प्रथमदितीये वार्चच्चौ दतीयाचतुर्थी च व्यन्त्रयो। तचापरं वचनं वार्चच्चौ पौर्णमास्यामनूच्येते व्यन्तती त्रमावास्यायामिति।

तत्र संगयः किमान्यभागयोः क्रमप्राप्ता मंत्रास्ताभ्यामाच्छिय वचनेन प्रधानाङ्गतया विधीयने उताच्यभागयोरेवाव्यवस्थया

१ मास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २०३, २०५।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र० ७५५।

प्राप्तयोर्युगलयोर्थवस्थामाचिमिति । तद्धं चास्मिन्वचने पौर्षमास्य-मावास्थाप्रब्दौ कर्मवचनावृत कालवचनाविति । तच—

> कालस्थास्मरणीयलान्न मन्त्रेण प्रयोजनम् । नापि प्रकरणन्तस्य तेन नासाविद्योच्यते ॥ कर्मणः प्रकृतलेन मन्त्रापेचतयापि च । तत्यौर्णमास्यमावास्याग्रब्दाभ्यामभिधीयते ॥

सप्तमी च पूर्वेद्युरमावास्त्रायां वेदिमितिवत् प्रधानेष्यविरुद्धा । तस्माद्दाक्येन क्रमं वाधिला प्रधानार्था मन्त्रा इति ।

नैवं, यद्यपि कर्मेव प्रब्दाभ्यां प्रतिपाद्यते तथापि सप्तमीश्रुत्या न प्रधानवन्त्रसभावः । पूर्वेद्युरमावास्थायामिति तु खचणा । न चेद्र तथा । मुख्यार्थसभावात् ।

तिञ्च नेह सौम्यख मंत्रख प्रधानेषु सामर्थ्यमित । सोमख प्रधानदेवतालाभावात् । श्रग्नीषोमीयेऽप्यग्निसहितस्य देवतालं न तु निरपेचस्य श्रमावास्थायां तु नास्येव सोमः । तसाद्वावस्थामात्र-मपेचितमस्पलं च विधीयते । पौर्णमासीगतयोराच्यभागयोवार्चथ्रो श्रमावास्थागतयोर्थधन्वत्याविति ।

१४ इस्तावनेजनादीनां क्रत्नप्राकरियकाङ्गताधि-करणम्।

त्रानन्तर्यमचोदना ॥ २४॥

"द्र्पपूर्णमासयोरामायते 'इस्ताववने निके उलपराजिं सृणा-तौ'ति। तथा ज्योतिष्टोंमे 'सृष्टीकरोति वाचं यक्किति दीचित-मावेदयती'ति।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २०६-२०७।

तच इस्तावनेजनं इस्तसंस्कारार्थम् । सृष्टीकरणवाग्यमने च मनःप्रणिधानार्थे । तेन तत् चयमपि लिङ्गात्करियमाणकर्माङ्गं सत् किमनन्तरयोद्दलपराजिस्तरणदीचितावेदनयोरङ्गस्त सर्वाङ्ग-मिति संग्रयः ।

तचानन्तर्यादेकवाक्यलादवान्तरप्रकरणादा तन्माचाङ्गले प्राप्ते-ऽभिधीयते-

> जिङ्गप्रकरणाभ्यां हि सर्वार्थलं प्रतीयते । कमय दुर्जभसाभ्यामतः सर्वार्थता भवेत् ॥

न चाखातदयस्य यच्छव्दाद्युपबन्धं विना एकवाक्यलं सम्भवति येन वाक्येनैव तादर्थं स्थात्, न च श्रुत्यादिविहिताङ्गसंदंशोऽस्ति येनावान्तरप्रकर्णं स्थात् । तस्मात्सर्वार्थतैव^{१ १७} ॥

१५ चतुर्धाकरणादीनामाग्नेयमाचाङ्गताधिकरणम्। श्रेषस्तु गुणसंयुक्तः साधारणः प्रतीयेत मिथ-स्तेषामसम्बन्धात्॥ २६॥

दर्भपूर्णमासयोराग्नेयाग्नीषोमीयेन्द्राग्नाः पुरोडागाः । तत्राग्नेयं चतुर्धा करोतीति चतुर्धाकरणं किं सर्वेषासुताग्नेयखैवेति संग्रयः । तच—

" त्रियस्वन्धमाचेण भवेद्वयोपलचणम् । सम्बन्धञ्चाविशिष्टोऽतः सर्वेषासुपलचणम् ॥ एवं प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

"केवजादेवतावाची तद्धितोऽग्नेः समुचरन्। नान्ययुकाग्निदेवत्यं प्रतिपाद्यितं चमः ॥

१ मास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २०७-२०८। २-३ मास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २०८।

न चायं सम्बन्धमाचे प्रत्ययः सर्वचाग्निकालिभ्यां ढक् वक्तव्य इति स्नरणादिति वाच्यम् । इह देवतार्थायाच (देवतार्थसीवाच?) वोचितलात् । प्रसिद्धसम्बन्धं हि लचणं भवति । प्रसिद्धिश्च विधि-वाक्यायत्ता । तच चाग्नेर्देवतालमेवावगतम् । तस्नादाग्नेयस्थैव चतुर्धाकरणम् ।

यदिप ग्रतपथनाह्मणे 'तं चतुर्धा कला पुरोडाग्रं वर्हिषदं करोती'ति सामान्यवचनं तदिप अनेनैव वचनेन उपसंद्वियते।

यन् कात्यायनेनोत्तं 'त्रविशेषादुभौ वे'ति तत् न्यायविरोधा-दनादर्न्तव्यमित्याचार्याः ।

तदाइः-

"सत्यमसि श्रुतिर्येचमविशेषेण दृश्यते । विशेषे खायते सा तु नित्यं शाखान्तरीयया^र"॥ दति श्रीमीमांसाशास्त्रसर्वस्ते दतीयाधायस्य प्रथमः पादः॥

ऋय तृतीयाध्याये दितीयः पादः।

१ मुखं विनियोगाधिकरणम्। त्रश्रीभिधानसंयोगान्मन्तेषु श्रेषभावः स्यात्तसा-दुत्पत्तिसम्बन्धोऽर्थेन नित्यसंयोगात्॥१॥

त्राद्यपादे श्रुतिविनियोगश्चिन्तितः। इदानौं लिङ्गविनि-योगश्चिन्यते। विनियोगकालं च यद्यपि लिङ्गस्य मन्त्राधिकरण

१ कुमारिलभट्टाचार्थ्यासन्त्रवात्तिके, ४० ७६१।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र० ७ १।

एव सिद्धं, ऋष्प्रकाश्रनेनोपकुर्वन्तीत्यभित्तित्वात् तथापि किं सुख्य एवार्थे विनियोग उत गोणेऽपीति विशेषश्चिन्यते ।

तन—

"श्रर्थानां सार्णाईलानानाणां चापि प्रक्तितः। प्रतिप्रधानमादत्तेर्गुणानासुभयार्थता १ "॥

गौणानां सुख्यानां चार्थानां श्रनुष्टेयलात् सार्णमपेचितं मन्ता-श्रार्थं प्रति गुणभूताः समर्थाश्च यथाकथित्वत्सार्यितुं साचाल-श्र(?)स्त्विकिञ्चित्करः। प्रतिप्रधानं च गुणावृत्तिन्यीय्या, तसादुभयव विनियोग दति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

" गोणे सदिप सामर्थं न प्रमाणान्तरादिना।
श्राविर्भवति सुख्ये तु प्रव्दादेवाविरस्ति तत्॥
तात्पर्यं च खतो सुख्ये गोणार्थपरता पुनः।
प्रमाणान्तरविज्ञेया तदभावान सिध्यति "॥

एवच्च प्रथमावगतसुख्यविनियोगेनेव कतार्थलानान्त्रो निरा-काङ्कः । गौणोर्थोऽपि ध्यानाचुपायान्तरेणापि स्वृतिसिद्धेर्न मन्त्र-मपेचते । श्रतः प्रामाणिकस्तव विनियोगः । सुख्ये तु मन्त्राकांचा-वप्रादिनियोगः ।

यस्य तु सुख्योऽर्थः प्रकर्णे नास्ति तस्योत्कर्षः। यथा पूषाद्यतुमन्त्रणमन्त्राणाम्।

यस त्र्वर्षोऽपि न सक्षवित तस्य जपमाचेणोपयोगः। न त गौणलं, श्रप्रामाणिकलात्। तस्मात् 'वर्ष्ट्विसदनं दामी'त्येतद्य-च्छेदन (?) एव विनियुच्यते न तु गौणेऽपि॥

१ मास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २१०।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २१०।

२ ऐन्द्रीन्याये (ऐन्द्र्यागाईपत्ये) विनियोगाधि-करणम्।

वचनात्त्वयथार्थमेन्द्री स्वात्॥ ३॥

श्रपवादोऽयम् । श्रग्नौ श्रूयते 'निवेगनः सङ्गमनो वसूना-मित्यैन्द्या गार्चपत्यसुपतिष्ठत' दति ग्राखान्तरे तु 'कदाचन स्तरीरसि नेन्द्रसञ्च सिदाग्रुषे' दति च्छक् पयते ।

तत्र संग्रयः—िकमनेन मन्त्रेण विनियोगार्थवर्णना । तथा च गार्हपत्यग्रब्देन यज्ञसाधनसामर्थात् गौष्या दत्त्या दन्द्र एवोच्यते । एवं प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

> " गौणलं यत्र नाम स्थात्कचिद्राह्मणमन्त्रयोः । तत्रानुवादक्ष्पलान्मन्त्राणां गौणतेस्यते ॥ स्थादग्नेगौणमिन्द्रलं यज्ञसम्बन्धकारितम् । दन्दत्यर्थानुसारादा स्वकार्यं सोऽपि हीश्वरः "॥

तस्मात् श्रौतिविनियोगानुरोधेन मन्त्रो गौणार्थक इति सिद्धम्। एवं सित लिङ्गादिन्द्रार्थता भवति न वेति वलावलाधिकरणे चिन्तियथिते॥

३ श्राह्वानविनियोगाधिकरणम्। तथाह्वानमपौति चेत्॥५॥

दर्भपूर्णमासयोरामायते । 'इविष्कृदेहीति चिरवन्ननाज्ञय-ती'ति ।

तच किमयं मन्त्रो गौर्णेऽवघाते प्रयोक्तयः उत सुखे श्राह्मान इति संग्रयः।

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ७७०।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ए० ००१।

तदर्थञ्च किमवन्नित्यवघातसुदिग्य मन्त्रो विधीयते । किं वा मन्त्रस्थाञ्चानेन सम्बन्धः । इन्तिस्तु काललचणार्थः । इविष्कृदेहीति चिराज्ञयति त्रवघातकाल इति । तच—

"पूर्वीधिकरणन्यायादिधौ युक्ता न लचणा।
मन्त्रस्य लयथार्थलं वचनान्त्रेव दुर्थिति "॥
तस्मादवघाताङ्गं मन्त्र द्वि प्राप्ते त्रूमः—
"तस्मादच चिर्म्यासो विधातव्यस्त्रथा सित ।
मन्त्रस्य न विधिः प्रक्यो वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गतः॥
आक्रानेन तु मन्त्रस्य योगो हन्तेस्तु लचणा "॥

श्रवघातकाले सहायाङ्गानमर्थप्राप्तम् । श्रतोऽनुवादमात्रमव-हिनः । श्रनुवादे च न लचणादोषः । तवापि ब्राह्मणे श्राङ्मयते-गौणलम् । एहीति प्रब्दोचारणसाम्यमात्रेण तत्प्रयोगात् ।

किञ्च एहीति परप्रेषणक्ष्पस्य मध्यमपुरुषस्य हविष्कृदिति च सम्बोधनक्ष्पस्य श्रचेतनेऽवघाते सामर्थ्यमेव नास्ति । तसासिङ्गप्राप्त-मन्त्रानुवादेन चिराष्ट्रिमानं विधीयते श्राङ्गानाङ्गमेव च मन्त्रो न लावघाताङ्गम् ॥

४ अग्निविहरणादिप्रकाशकमन्त्रविनियोगाधिकरणम्। तथोत्यानविसर्जने॥१०॥

ज्योतिष्ठोंने समामनिन-' उत्तिष्ठन्नवाहाग्री विहरेति तथा व्रतं चरतेति वाचं विस्ञती'ति ।

तच सन्देहः-किसुत्थानं वाग्विसर्जनञ्च प्रतिमन्त्रयोर्पदेश उत कालार्थः संयोग इति ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २१२।

२ मास्तदीपिका, ४० २१३।

तच पूर्वपचिसिद्धान्तौ प्राग्वत्। निरभ्यासपरलात् पूर्वेच मन्त्रोप-देशो न जातः दह तु श्रङ्गाङ्गिलपचेऽपि वाकाभेदो नास्तीति विशेषाशक्षा श्रुतिविनियोगाभावात् । मन्त्र खिङ्गविरोधाच कालार्थ एवेइ संयोगः। कालश्चेह विधीयते। न पूर्ववदनूद्यत द्ति विग्रेषः॥

५ स्तावाकस्य प्रस्तरप्रहरणाङ्गताधिकरणम्। स्रक्तवाके च कालविधिः परार्थत्वात्॥ ११॥

'सूत्रवानेन प्रस्तरं प्रहरती'ति।

तत्र किं सूत्रवाक्य काललचकलमुत प्रहरणाङ्गलमिति संग्रयः। किं प्राप्तं कालार्थसंयोग इति। यथा दर्भपूर्णमासाभ्यासिष्टा सोसेन यजतेति उभयोः कतार्थलात् कालार्थसंयोगस्वयेहापि स्त-वाकस्थेष्टदेवताभिधानेन कतार्थलात्रहरणस्य च सुग्धारणाद्युपयुक्त-प्रसर्प्रतिपादनेन प्रयोजनवलात् । तचापि निर्ज्ञातकाललात् स्न -वाकः प्रहरणकालं लचयति । इत्यंभ्रतलचणे च वतीया । न हि कथिद्यदिप देवताभिधायिनः सूजवाकस्य प्रहरणाङ्गता समावति। प्रहरणे देवताभावात्। एवं प्राप्ते ब्रुम:-

हतीयाश्रुत्या सूक्तवाकः कर्णम्। यद्यपौष्टदेवताप्रकाश्रनेन कतार्थोऽसौ तथापि वचनादिनियुज्यते। श्रुतिविनियुक्तमन्त्रवजादेव च तदभिधेयाभिरिष्टदेवताभिः सह प्रकरणस्य संयोगे कल्पिते प्रहरतिपरमिष्टदेवतासंस्कारार्थी होमः फलति । तेनेष्टदेवता-प्रकाशनं कुर्वत एव सूत्रवाकस्य प्रहरणाङ्गलं सिद्धम्।

यत् बच्णे हतीयेति तन । कारकविभन्नेर्वेबीयस्वात्। तथा हि—लया खन्नणिकयागर्भः सम्बन्धो वाच्यः। सा च नेहोपात्ता।

१ 'प्रहरतिरिष्टदेवते'त्यादि पाडः शालदीपिकायासुपस्थाते, १० २१६।

उपात्तिवासम्बन्धस्तु नान्यापेच इति बसीयान्। तथा च सिङ्गं सूत्तवाक एव याच्या प्रस्तर श्राइरिति एवकारस्तु श्रयाच्यायां याच्योपचारं दर्भयति। न च सुख्यमेव तथालमस्त्रिति वाच्यम्। होमाङ्गस्य तदयोगात्। निगदानां तिन्विधाच । श्राह च—

"न च प्रहरणं यागरूपमाचे रै उवितष्ठते । होम एव लयं खष्टः प्रचेपाधिकाचोदनात् ॥ श्राघारादि यथा द्रव्यचारणाद्धोमताङ्गतम् । तथा प्रचेपरूपलाद्धरणखापि होमता ॥ होमाङ्गख च याच्यालं न कस्य चिदपीखते । निगदलादिग्रेषेण स्क्रावाके निषिधते । श्रयाच्या एव निगदा च्हेंचैव यजतीति हिरे"॥

ई स्नतवाकानामर्थानुसारेण विनियोगाधिकरणम्। क्रत्सोपदेशादुभयच सर्ववचनम्॥ १५॥

प्रहरणाङ्गं सून्तवाक द्ति स्थितम्।

स किं पौर्णमास्थाममावास्थायां च क्रत्सः प्रयोक्तव्य उतेष्ट-देवतानुरोधेन विभज्येति संग्रयः।

तच त्राग्नेयादिभावनानां षषामपि त्रन्योन्यनिरपेचाणामेव कयंभावात्मकप्रकरणवत्तादेकेकस्य कर्मणः सकलस्क्रकवाकोऽङ्गं प्रयाजादिवत् स्क्रकवाकग्रब्दश्च समस्तानुवाकवचनः। एवं स्थिते एककालवर्तिनां चयाणां तन्त्रेण प्रयाजादिवदुपकरोतीति भेदेन न प्रयोच्यते। ससुदायदये तु कालभेदात्सकलस्थेकाष्टन्तः। तचा-विद्यमानार्थानि पदान्यदृष्टार्थानि गौणानि वेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

१ 'यागमा नक्षे' इति तन्त्रवात्तिक मुद्रितपुस्तकपाटः।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ए० ७०७-७७८।

"स्ततवाकप्रब्दस्यावयवयुत्पत्त्या दृष्टदेवताप्रकाप्रमन्त्रपक्तरत्वमेव युतं स्ततं वक्तीति हि स्ततवाकः। तेन यिसान्प्रयोगे यावत्यो यास्य देवता दृष्टाः एका वा बिह्यो वा प्राक्तत्यो वा वैक्तत्यो वा तत्र तावद्देवतापदप्रयोगादेव सम्पूर्णः स्ततवाकः। श्रिनिष्टदेवतापद-प्रयोग तु प्रत्युत स्ततवाकः हिला दृष्ततवाक एव स्थात्। तसादिष्टदेवतानुरोधेन त्र विभन्य प्रयोग दृति सिद्धम्।

श्राह च-

"विन्दौ च ससुदाये च तोयग्रब्दो यथेखते। संसर्गिद्रव्यक्षपत्नात्मृक्षवाकपदं तथा^२ ॥

काम्ययाच्यानुवाक्यानां काम्यमाचाङ्गताधिकरणम्।
 लिङ्गक्रमसमाख्यानात् काम्ययुक्तं समाम्नानम्॥ १९॥

'ऐन्द्राग्नमेकाद्यकपालं निर्वपे'दित्यारभ्य दृष्टयः समान्नाताः । तिन्निङ्गक्रमेणेव च काम्ययाच्यानुवाक्याकाण्डमित्येवं समाख्यातम् । मन्त्रकाण्डं समान्नातं 'दन्द्राग्नी रोचनादिव' दृत्यादि ।

तदि सन्तकाण्डे संग्रयः—िकसेते सन्त्रा यत्र यत्र समर्था-स्तत्र तत्र विनियोक्तव्या उत क्रमसमाख्याभ्यां काम्येष्टिव्वेवेति।

तच लिङ्गस्थाविशेषात् क्रमसमास्थाभ्यां प्रावन्धाच सर्वार्थतेति प्राप्ते क्रमः—

"श्रम्यादिखरूपमाचप्रतिपादनं यद्यपि सामर्थ्यादवगतं तथापि न तन्माचप्रकाशने फलमस्ति । कर्मापूर्वसाधनरूपप्रकाशनार्थता तु न कर्मसम्बन्धप्रमाणमन्यदन्तरेण सामर्थ्यमाचात् सिध्यति । न

१ अत्र 'मन्त्रवचनलादि'ति शास्त्रदीपिकाकारसमातः पाठः।

२ मास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २१७।

३ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ७८५।

चाग्निस्वादीनां खुवादिवत् क्रलव्यभिचारः येन क्रत्रूपस्थायेत । तस्मात्क्रमसमाख्याभ्यां काम्येष्टिय्वेव विनियोगः । कर्मान्तरेषु तु उपायान्तरेणापि स्टितिसिद्धिनं मन्त्रापेचानियमः । यच तु नियम-स्तच भवत्येव सामर्थ्यमाचादिनियोगः । यथार्थज्ञानस्यानुष्ठाना-क्रलम् । न हि तदिनानुष्ठानं सिध्यति ॥

द्र श्रामीध्रोपस्थाने प्रक्तानां मन्त्राणां विनियोगाधिकरणम्।

अधिकारे च मन्त्रविधिरतदाखेषु शिष्टत्वात्॥ २०॥

ज्योतिष्टोमे 'श्रम श्रायाहि वीतय' दत्यादयो विशेषक्पेणा-संयुक्ताः पठिताः। स्तोचादौ च वाक्यान्तरेणावियुक्ताः। प्रदेशान्तरे च 'श्रामेय्यामीधसुपतिष्ठत' दति विश्रुतम्।

तच किं प्रकाता श्रप्रकाता श्रामेयो याह्याः उत प्रकाता एवेति संग्रयः।

तचाविशेषात्सर्वाः। न च प्रकरणाद्विशेषः। प्रकरणस्याविशेषकलात्। यदि ह्याग्नेयीसंस्कारार्थमिदसुपस्थानं स्यान्ततोऽपूर्वासम्बन्धिनः संस्कारायोगात् तत्साधनस्ताः प्रक्रता ग्रद्धोरन्। दह
तु वतीयानिर्देशादुपादेयास्ताः। श्रतो न प्रक्रतनियमः। न च
सन्निधिनियामकः। श्रन्यार्थस्य सन्निहितस्याय्यविशेषकलात्। यथा
श्रश्चेन गच्छति श्रेतेन पटेन प्राष्टत दत्यत्र सन्निहितोऽपि श्रेतगुणो
नाश्चं विश्विनष्टि तथेहापौति प्राप्ते क्रमः—

"प्रक्रता एव ग्टह्येरन् प्रसिद्धकत्संगमाः। तासां कार्यविभेषो हि सुखमचोपदिग्यते॥

१ शास्तदीपिका, ४० २१८-२१८।

श्राग्नीश्रोपखानस्य हि दे रूपे—श्राग्नीश्रोपखानता ज्योतिष्टोमापूर्वसाधनौपयिकव्यापारता च । दयमपि श्रास्त्रगम्यम् । श्रन्थतरेणान्यतरस्थानाचेपात् । तथा च यद्यप्रक्रताभिरूपखानं विधीयेत
ततः तस्थोपखानरूपमेव श्रुतेर्क्भ्येत न तु ज्योतिष्टोमव्यापारत्नम् ।
श्रश्रुतत्वात् १ "।

नन्वचातादिवदुपस्थानस्य प्रकर्णात् क्रत्यापार्वं सभ्यत इति चेत्। सत्यम्। किन्तु श्रुतिं कस्पियला। न चेहाकस्पनयोपपत्तीं कस्पना युक्ता। श्राग्नेय्या क्रतुं प्रति श्राग्नीशोपस्थानरूपं व्यापारं सुर्यादिति हि प्रकरणकस्पितं तु सम्बन्धं श्रुत्युक्तं चोपस्थानरूपमय-मेव विधिर्विद्ध्यात्। तथा च गौरवम्। श्रवचातादिषु तु गत्यभावात् श्रङ्गीक्रतम्। इह लस्ति गतिः। तथा हि प्रकृतानां प्रागेव क्रतुगतो व्यापारः कर्तव्यलेनावधारितः। तस्यावधारित-व्यापारस्थाग्नीशोपस्थानात्मकं विशेषरूपमेवाच विधीयते। य श्राग्नेय्या क्रतौ व्यापारः कर्तव्यः स श्राग्नीशोपस्थानरूप इति। तेन प्रागेव कस्पितं विहितं चाग्नेय्याः क्रत्यापारमनूच विशेषमाचं श्रुत्युपात्तमिह विधीयते। न लिह क्रत्यापारः कस्यते नापि विधीयत इति साघवात्मक्रतग्रहणम्।

१ भक्षमन्त्राणां यथालिङ्गं यहणादौ विनियोगाधि-करणम्।

लिङ्गसमाखानाभ्यां भक्षार्थतानुवाकस्य ॥ २४ ॥ भचमन्त्रः श्रूयते—'भचे हि मा विष्य' दत्यादिः । तस्य कश्चिदंगो भचणं प्रतिपाद्यति । यहणावेचणसम्यग्जरणप्रकाषकाश्चान्येऽंगाः ।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २२०।

२ चिस्रिज्ञधिकरणे शास्त्रदीपिकानुरूपाः पङ्कयो द्रष्ट्याः, ४० २२०-२२१।

तत्र किं सर्वः भचणे विनियोक्तय उत यथासामर्थे ग्रहणादिव्यपि विनियोक्तय द्ति मन्त्राग्रयः। तत्र—

"सर्वस्य भचणाङ्गलं ग्रहणादेरचोदनात् । त्रक्रलयों न मन्त्रस्य दारीभवितुमर्हति ॥ भचानुवाकसंज्ञा च भचणाङ्गलबोधिनी । सामर्थे चास्ति मन्त्रस्य भचणे तदिग्रेषणात् १ "॥ द्रस्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

"ग्रहणादी विभागेन विनियोगोऽस्य लिङ्गतः। वाक्यसंज्ञे हि नेप्राते कर्तुं लिंगस्य बाधनम्॥ ग्रहणादि च प्रास्त्रेण साचाद्यद्यपचोदितम्। तथापि चोदितार्थेन कर्तव्यवात्मकाम्यते॥

समाख्या तु भचणसम्बन्धमाचं प्रतिपादयन्ती " ग्रह्णादिद्वारक-परं परासम्बन्धेऽप्युपपद्यते । भचणं चेह सम्यग्जरणान्तं प्रतिपत्तितया विधीयत दति तदप्यासनविशेषादिव्यापारेण कर्तव्यमिति तचापि विभव्यसन्त्रविनियोगः॥

१० मन्द्राभिभूतिरित्यादेरेकमन्त्रताधिकरणम्। गुणाभिधानान्मन्द्रादिरेकमन्त्रः स्यात्तयोरेकार्थ-संयोगात्॥ २६॥

भचमंत्र एव मन्द्राभिभूतिरित्यादि व्यवित्यनं श्रुतम् । तत्र—

"ग्रहणादिवदेकार्थाचिप्तविप्तप्रकाशनात्। व्ययननः पृथङ्गन्त इति प्राप्तेऽभिधीयते॥

१ मास्तदीपिका, प्र० २२२।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, ५० २२३।

चेषां पृथगनुष्ठानमर्थाचिप्तं प्रतीयते ।
तेषां मन्त्रप्रकाग्धलं नानुनिष्पादिनां भवेत् १ १ ॥
न हि ग्रह्णादाविव भचणादन्यस्तृप्तौ व्यापारोऽस्ति । यत्स्यत्यर्थं मन्त्रोऽपेच्छेत । तस्मान्तृप्तिविश्रिष्टमन्त्रप्रकाग्रनार्थः ॥

११ इन्द्रपौतस्येत्यादिमन्त्राणां विनियोगाधिकरणम्। लिङ्गविशेषनिर्देशात् समानविधानेष्वनैन्द्राणा-ममन्त्रत्वम्॥ २७॥

भचमन्त्रे श्रूयते 'इन्ह्रपीतस्वे'ति । सन्येन्द्राष्यनेन्द्राणि च च्योतिष्टोमे प्रदानानि ।

तत्र संग्रयः— किमेन्द्रेस्वेवायं मन्तः श्रनेन्द्राणाममन्त्रकं भचणमुत तेस्वयूहेन मन्तः। श्रय वा सर्वत्र यथास्नातमेव मन्त्र इति। तद्धं च किमेन्द्राणामनेन्द्राणां च प्रक्षतिविक्षतिभावोऽस्ति न वेति। तथा इन्द्रपीतस्थेति तत्युह्यः सोमविग्रेषणं किं वा बद्धत्रीहिरिन्द्रेण पीतो यस्मिन् सोमसस्य प्रातःसवनस्थेति।

> "तत्र तत्पुरुषे खार्थनाभः खादुत्तरे पदे। वज्जतीहो दयोरन्यपदलाहुर्वनलधीः॥ ऐन्द्रानेन्द्रप्रदानानि ह्यंशा एकस्य कर्मणः। प्रकृतिर्विकृतिस्रेष्टा न चात्मैवात्मनः कचित्॥

तेन तत्पुरुषवजीयस्वाद्यथान्नातमन्त्रस्थानेन्द्रेध्वसामर्थात्समाने च कर्मणि प्रक्रतिविक्रतिभावासंभवेनोहायोगाद्नेन्द्राणासमन्त्रकं भचण-मित्येकः पूर्वपदः। त्रपरस्तु सत्यपि कर्मेकले प्रदानानां भिन्नला-द्विरुद्धः प्रक्रतिविक्रतिभावः। सानग्रहण्मन्त्राच ऐन्द्रप्रदानविषय

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र॰ ८००।

एव सोमः। 'इन्द्राय वसुमते सोमं ग्रन्तामि' इत्यादयो मन्त्रा हि
स्रोनेन्द्रेषु प्रदानेष्वसमर्थाः। भवति चाङ्गवप्रेन प्रधानस्य विषययवस्या। यथा त्राह्वनीयवप्रेनाग्निहोत्रादेराहिताग्निविषयलम्।
स्रातो यत्र मन्त्रस्तत्र मानग्रहणे यत्र ते तत्र सोमः यत्र सोमस्तत्राभिषवादयो भचस्तन्त्रन्तस्य। प्रदानान्तराणि लधर्मकाणि।
चोदनेनेतान् धर्मान्ग्रह्णान्ति। तत्र देवताविणिष्टभचप्रकाणकलेनोपकतवतो भचमन्त्रस्य कार्यवप्रेन विक्रतिमागतस्य यथादेवतमृहः।
एवमृहे स्थितमधिकरणमपरिसमाप्रेव प्रसङ्गादूहविषयश्चन्यते ।

१२ ऋभ्युन्नीतसोमभक्षणाधिकरणम्। पुनरभ्युन्नीतेषु सर्वेषासुपलक्षणं दिशोषत्वात्॥ २८॥

"सवनमुखीयेषु चमसेखेन्द्रेषु सर्वेषु इतेषु ये होत्रकाणां मैत्रावरूणादीनां चमसाखेव्यभचितेषु संग्रेषेव्येव पुनः सोमोऽभ्युनीय देवतान्तरेभ्यो मित्रावरूणादिभ्यो इत्वा भच्यते ।

तत्र संभयः । किं पूर्वप्रक्षतप्रदाने देवतास्त इन्होऽप्युपलचणीय इन्ह्रमित्रावरूणपीतस्थेति किंवा नेति ।

तवोत्रयनोत्तरता विप्रदानका ले पूर्वभेषस्थान्युकीतस्थोभयस्थ चमसस्थलेन तत्कालनिर्द्धियमानदेवतान्तरसम्बन्धाद्येतसम्बन्धापूर्व-देवता नोपलचणीयेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

यद्ययुत्तयनकाले न देवतासंकल्पलयापुत्तयनं तावत्करिष्यमाण-यागार्थमित्यसन्दिग्धम् । ऋतञ्चाभ्यन्तीतस्य करिष्यमाणयागार्थतया

१ आस्तदीपिका, ए० २२४-२२५।

२ अव "तनोब्रयनकाली देवतान्तरसंकल्पो न क्रियते। यदि क्रियेत तत जन्नीयनामस्येव देवतान्तरसम्बन्धो न पूर्वस्थितस्य घेषस्येति तस्य पूर्वदेवतासम्बन्धो नापेयात्। जन्नयनमाचं तु तदा क्रियते। देवतानिर्देशस्य प्रदानकाली तदा च पूर्वे"त्यादि शास्त्रदीपिका पाटः।

तदीयदेवतासम्बन्धो नान्यस्य । तस्मात्पूर्वभेषस्य ज्ञानश्सम्बन्धान-पायात् साप्युपनचणीयारः ॥

१३ पातीवतभक्षण इन्द्रादीनामनुपलक्षणाधि-करणम्।

पालीवते तु पूर्ववत् ॥ ३२ ॥

"दिदेवत्यानामेन्द्रवायवादीनां ग्रेषा त्रादित्यस्थानीमागत्य ततोऽप्याययणस्थानीमागच्छन्ति पात्नीवतश्चाययणपात्राद्रुद्धते ।

तसिन्भच्यमाणे किमिन्द्रवाय्वादयोऽप्युपलचणीया उत पात्नी-वानेवेति संप्रयः ।

पूर्ववत्सर्वेषासुपलचणिमिति प्राप्तं नैतदेवम् । न ह्यचाययणं पात्नीवतं कुर्यादिति श्रुतं किं तु "पात्नीवतमाययणाद्ग्रहातीत्य—पादानमाचमाययणम् । श्रतो यत्ततोपेतं तत्पात्नीवतं श्रायय—णांश्रवचानाययणमपि तत्संसृष्टं दिदेवत्यं ततोपेतिमिति पात्नीवत—मेव "। श्रतः पूर्वदेवतासम्बन्धावगमात् दन्द्रवाय्वादयो नोप— सचितव्याः ॥

१४ पात्नीवतभेषभश्चे त्वष्टुरनुपनश्चणीयताधि-करणम्।

त्वष्टारं तूपलक्षयेत् पानात्॥ ३४॥

"तिस्मिनेव पानीवते त्राध्वर्थवो होममन्त्रः। 'त्रग्राद्र २ -पनीवान् सर्जूर्देवेन लक्षा सोमं पिव खाहे'ति।

१ 'ज्ञान' इत्यस्य स्थाने 'देवता' इति शास्त्रदीिपकासमानः पाटः।

२ मास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २२५-२२६।

३-४ **शास्त्रदीपिका**, प्र∘ २२६।

तच मन्त्रवर्णेनाग्नेः पत्नीवतस्बद्धा सह पानं गम्यते । तदन्यथा-नुपपत्त्या लष्टुरपि देवतालम् । श्रतः सोऽप्युपलचित्रत्य इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

त्रग्नेरेव पानं गस्वते। लष्टुस्तु सहभावमात्रम्। न च सह-भावसात्रियासम्बन्धाव्यभिचारी। 'सहैव दणभिः पुत्रैभीरं वहति गर्दभी'त्यादौ तदभावात्। श्रस्तु वा पानं तथापि न देवतालम्। चद्देशमात्रस्त्रस्त्रस्तात्। न हि देवता पिवतौति वच्यते।

किञ्च चोदनायां तद्भितेन निर्पेचस्य पत्नीवतो देवतालं गम्यमानं न मान्त्रवर्णिक्या देवताया बाधविक ल्पसमुचयान् सहते। स्रतो नोपलचणीयस्त्रष्टा १ ११ ॥

१५ पात्नीवतभेषभक्षे चिंभतामनुपलक्षणाधिकरणम्। चिंभच परार्थत्वात्॥ ३६॥

तिसन्नेव पात्नीवते याच्यामन्तः 'एभिरग्ने सर्थं या ह्यर्वाङ्-नानार्थं वा विभवो ह्ययाः। पत्नीवतिस्तंग्रतं चौं य देवाननु-व्यथमावहमादयखें ति।

तच किं चयस्त्रिंगदुपलचियतया उत नेति संगयः।

"पूर्वचाग्नेरेव पानम्। लष्टुम्तु सहभावमाचिमत्यदेवताल-मुक्तम्। दृदं तु विपरीतम्। अग्नेमी द्यिव्यलोक्ता दृतरे माद्यन्तीत्यवगमात्। अतस्तेषां देवतालम्। न च चोदनया विरोधः। तया हि पत्नीवन्नाचस्य देवतालमुक्तं न तु तदिग्रेषस्य। तच यथा अग्ने पत्नीवन्निति मन्त्रगतसामानाधिकरस्थादग्नेः पत्नी-वन्तेन देवतालमेवं चयस्तिंग्रतोऽपि देवतानां पत्नीवतस्तिंग्रतं चौंस्य

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २२७।

देवानिति सामानाधिकरण्यात् तसात्त्रयस्त्रिंगदुपसचणीया इति प्राप्ते त्रूमः—

यतोऽग्रेमीदियित्वमत एव तस्यैव देवतालं न ह्यसौ यजमान-द्र्योण त्रयस्तिंगतं मादियतुं ग्रक्तुयात्। न यदि यजमानोऽग्रये द्यादतोऽग्रेरेव यजमानसंकस्पविषयलाद्देवतालं दतरे लिग्नदत्तेन कामं मायन्तु। न तु यजमानस्तिभ्यो ददातौति १ ११ श्रदेवतालान्न तेषासुपत्तचणं किन्वग्रेरेव॥

१६ भक्षणेऽनुवषद्वारदेवताया ऋनुपलक्षणाधि-करणम्।

वषद्कार्ञ कर्त्वत्॥ ३७॥

"त्रनुवषट्कारदेवताया त्रग्नेरसन्दिग्धं देवतालिमिति उप-खचणं प्राप्तम् ।

प्रकृतो तु विद्यमानायसो नोपलचिता । किंतु प्रधानदेवता-भृत दुन्द्र एवोपलचितः । श्रतो विकृताविष तत्कार्यापन्नप्रधानदेवता एवोपलचणीया नानुवषट्कारदेवतेति सिद्धान्तः ॥

१७ क्रत्वाचिन्तारूपे अनैन्द्राणाममन्त्रक्षमञ्चणाधि-करणम्।

छन्दः प्रतिषेधस्तु सर्वगामित्वात् ॥ ३८॥

" खितादुत्तरमिदम्। नास्यूहः समानविधानलाग्रदानानाम्। यत्तु ऐन्द्रप्रधानविषयः सोम द्रत्युतं तन्न। स हि सोमेन यजेतेति कर्सोत्यत्तौ श्रुतः कर्मणोऽङ्गं न तु प्रदानविशेषस्य। तदेव

१ ग्रास्त्रदोषिका, प्र० २२७-२२८।

२ माखदीपिका, ए० २२८।

च कर्म सर्वप्रदानेष्वभ्यस्थत दति सर्वाणि समानविधानानि । मान-ग्रहणमन्त्रौ तु लिङ्गादैन्द्रप्रदानविषयौ कामं भवेतां न तु सोमोऽपि । श्रतः समानविधानलादनूहः । भचमन्त्रसु लिंगादैन्द्रेष्वेवेत्यनैन्द्राणा-ममन्त्रकमेव भचणमिति । एवं प्रथमपच एव स्थितमधिकरणम् । एवं स्थिते पुनः क्रलाचिन्ता ।

१८ ऐन्द्राग्नभक्षस्यामन्त्रकताधिकरणम्। ऐन्द्राग्ने तु लिंगभावात्स्यात्॥ ३८॥

यचान्यसहित दुन्द्रो देवता यथेन्द्रादिषु तच मन्त्रो भवति नेति संग्रयः।

"तत्र मित्रोहेंग्रेनापि दत्तः सोसेाऽंग्रतः प्रत्येकसुभाभ्यां पौयते। तेन पानेऽन्योन्यनिर्पेचलात् दाभ्यामपि पौत इन्द्रपौतो भवत्येव यथा जित्यमातेति "। तस्मादेन्द्राग्रादिषु समन्त्रकं भचणमिति प्राप्ते न्नूमः—

" देवताधिकरणन्यायेन पानाभावात् पिवतिरच दानसुप-लचणार्थः । दानं च मिश्रविषयकं नान्यतरेण व्यपदेष्टुं प्रकात इति चतुर्धाकरणवदेन्द्राग्नादिषु मन्त्राभावः । १६॥

१८ मन्त्रविशेषाणामनेकच्छन्दस्के विनियोगाधि-

करणम्।

छन्दश्च देवतावत्॥ ४१॥

तर्वेव मन्त्रे गायत्रक्कन्दस इति श्रुतम् ।
तत्र किं यसिन्प्रदाने गायत्रमेव कन्दस्तत्र मन्त्रः उत नानाकन्दस्केऽपौति संग्रयः ।

१ आसदीपिका, ४० १२८। १-३ आसदीपिका, ४० १३०।

पूर्ववत्निवलकन्दोविषयले प्राप्ते ब्रुमः—

सर्वेषु प्रधानेषु वज्जमन्त्रसमवायेन क्रन्दोन्तराणामवश्यक्षावात् नित्यसापेचलादच समासः । वस्तुतस्तु नेह सापेचलं सर्वमन्त्राणा-मन्योन्यनिरपेचाणामेव कर्मसम्बन्धात् । श्रतः सत्यपि क्रन्दोऽन्तरे गायचच्चन्दसस्तदनपेचतया पूर्वाधिकरणपूर्वपचवत् समासाविधाना-भावान्नानाच्चन्दस्कोऽपि भवति मन्त्रः ॥

२० एकादशाधिकरणोक्तस्योपसं हाराधिकरणम्।

सर्वेषां त्वेकमन्त्रमैतिशायनस्य भक्तपानत्वात्सव-नाधिकारो हि॥ ४३॥

" खितादुत्तरं

यदि तत्पुरुषोऽयं स्थात्यादनैन्द्रेय्वमन्त्रकम् । भचणं लचणादोषान्नायं तत्पुरुषो मतः १ "॥

तत्पृष्वले हि सोमख विशेषणिमन्द्रपीतशब्दः खात्। न च इतिशिष्टख भचणार्थं इतखेन्द्रपीतलमिल किन्तु तदवयवलम्। तथा चोपचारापित्तः। किं च इन्द्रपीतखेळात्र बद्धत्रीहिलिङ्गं पूर्वपद-प्रकृतिखर उपजभ्यते। तसाइइज्रीहिरेवायम्। इन्द्रेण यसिन्सवने पीतः सोमस्तख सवनख यः सम्बन्धीयः सोमस्तख भचयामीति। सर्वे च सोमा एवंविधसवनसम्बन्धिन इति सर्वेषां यथास्नातमन्त्रकं भचणम्।

इति मीमांसाप्रास्त्रसर्वस्वे हतीयाध्यायस्य दितीयः पादः ॥

[।] शास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २३०।

श्रय तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः।

१ उच्चैक्त्वादौनां वेदधर्मताधिकरणम्। श्रुतेर्जाताधिकारः स्यात्॥१॥

पूर्वयोः पादयोः श्रुतिशिङ्गविनियोगौ चिन्तितौ। इदानौ वाक्य-विनियोगिश्चन्यते। 'प्रजापितरकामयत प्रजाः स्रुजेयेति। स तपो-ऽतप्यत। तसान्ते पानात् त्रयो देवाः श्रस्ट्ज्यन्ताग्निर्वायुरादित्यस्ते तपोऽतप्यन्त ततस्ते पानेभ्यस्तयो वेदा श्रस्ट्ज्यन्ताग्नेर्च्यवेदो वायो-र्यजुर्वेद श्रादित्यात्सामवेद' इत्युपक्रम्य श्रूयते ज्योतिष्टोमे—'तस्ना-दुचैर्च्या क्रियते उपांग्र यजुषा उचैः साम्ने'ति।

तत्र संग्रयः—िकसुचैद्वादयो मन्त्रधर्माः च्हचा मन्त्रेणोचैरिति किं वा वेदधर्माः च्यवेदेनोचैरिति। उपक्रमे वेदअवणात् उपसंहारे चर्गादिअवणात्।

वेदग्रब्दो हि मन्त्रो ब्राह्मणसमुदायस वका न लेकेकस वाकास।
न ह्येकं दे चीणि वाक्यानि ऋधीत्य "वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं
वापि यथाक्रम"मित्येतत् ग्रास्त्रार्थमनुष्ठितं मन्यन्ते। स्थगादिग्रब्दास्तु मन्त्रवचनाः स्थापिताः। तच—

"गुणलादर्थवादलादनुवादस्य खचणा।
मुख्यस्यापि प्रधानलादप्राप्तविषयलतः॥
विध्युद्देशो जघन्योऽपि स्वार्थहानि न गच्छति।
मुख्यापि दीचणीया हि सभते न स्वधर्मताम्॥
जघन्यस्यापि सोमस्य प्रधानलात्स्वधर्मता।
वच्छते तददचापि विध्युद्देशस्य सा भवेत् "॥

एवं प्राप्ते ज्रमः—

'य दश्या पग्रना सोमेन वा यजेते'ति वचनास्थात्मा सोमस्य कालो दीचणीयाकालं वाधत दित युक्तम्। दह तु दृन्द्रविषय-लेनास्थात्मविध्युद्देशः कथमर्थवादं बाधेत। तस्मादृगादिपदं जात-प्रतिपचिद्यानलाद्यथाश्रुतं सत्तदेकवास्थातामप्रतिपद्यमानं तदनुगुणं वेदं सचयदेवात्मानं समते। उपक्रम एव हि वेदानां किञ्चि-दिधास्थत दित श्रवगतम्। किं तदित्यपेचायां विध्युद्देशगतोऽपि स्थगदिशब्दोऽवगतविषयलादनुवाद दित सच्चणं सहते। स्थवेदेन यिक्तयते विधीयते तद्चैरिति। श्राह च—

" त्रमंजातिरोधिलादर्थवादो यथा त्रुतः।
त्राख्येयन्तदिरुद्ध्स विश्वदेगस्य लचणा ॥
पौर्वापर्यवलीयस्वं तच नाम प्रतीयते।
त्रायोन्यनिर्पेचाणां यच जना धियां भवेत् "॥
दिति च। दह तु विधिख्तयोः सापेचतेव। तदिहोपक्रमोपसंहारैकवाक्यतया वेदधर्मलमवधारितमिति वाक्यविनियोगः।

२ त्राधाने गानस्योपां मुताधिकरणम्। गुणमुख्यितिक्रमे तदर्थत्वान्मुखेन वेदसंयोगः॥ १॥

" यस मन्त्रस वेदानारे जत्मिर्निदानारे च विनियोगविधिः तस किनिबन्धनः खर इति संग्रयः । तच—

> उत्पत्तेः पूर्वभावितात् तिन्नवन्थन एव हि । स्वरः प्रथमभावितासुको नान्यो विस्निवतः ।

१ मास्तदीपिका, प्र० २०५।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ८१८।

३ मास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २३४।

इति प्राप्ते त्रुमः-

"न खल्वामानमाचेण मन्त्रस्य स्वात्प्रयोज्यता । तेन क्रियत द्रत्येवमतो वक्तुं न प्रकाते ॥ तेन तु क्रियते मन्त्रो यच वेदे विधीयते । विधायत्तं स्वतुष्ठानं तच चापेचितः स्वरः "॥

"प्रयोज्यतयाऽवधारितस्य हि मन्त्रस्य खरापेचा भवति न तु स्वरूपावगितमाचेष । तसादारवन्तीयादेः सामवेदेनाक्रियमाण्-लादुपांग्रलमेव^र "।

च्योतिष्टोमस्य याजुर्वेदिकाधिकरणम् । सूयस्वेनोभयश्रुतिः ॥ १० ॥

" यर्जुर्वेदि सामवेदि च ज्योतिष्टोमः समामातः ।

तस्य कतरवेदस्वरः स्थादिति विचारः। यत्र विधीयते तदीय एव स्वरो युक्तो न तु यत्र गुणार्थं अवणं तदीयः। ऋतः कास्य विधिरिति ऋनियमे प्राप्ते बूमः—

यर्जुर्वेदे द्रव्यदेवतश्रवणात्तदविष्ठिनं कर्म विधीयते। सामित तु नामयुकं क्रियामाचं श्रूयते इति न विध्यवगितः समाप्यते। त्रतो यर्जुर्वेदेनासौ क्रियत इति उपांश्चर्धमता ।

४ प्रकरणस्य विनियोजकताधिकरणम् । असंयुक्तं प्रकरणादितिकर्तव्यतार्थित्वात् ॥ ११ ॥ अतिलिङ्गवाकोर्विनियोग उक्तः । इदानीमधिकरणचयेण प्रकरणस्थानसमाख्याभिर्विनियोगोऽभिधीयते ।

१-२ शास्त्रदीपिका, प्र॰ २३४।

र शास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २३५।

दर्भपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'समिधो यजती'त्यादि । तद्दर्भपूर्णमासाङ्गं न वेति संग्रयः ।

श्रुत्यादिचिकस्थाभावात् विनियोजकान्तरस्य चायुत्पादना-नाङ्गम् । न च फलाभावात्माकांचता । विश्वजिद्यायेन राचि-सचन्यायेन वा तत्परिपूर्णोदिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

" श्रविच्छिन्ने कथंभावे यत्प्रधानस्य पद्यते । श्रनिर्ज्ञातफलं कर्म तस्य प्रकरणाङ्गता^१ "॥

दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां खर्गं साध्येत् कथिमित्येतस्थामाकांचायां श्रविच्छित्रायां श्रश्रुतप्रयोजनानि सिमद्यागादीनि पद्यन्ते । तचो-भयोः साकांचयोः सिन्निह्तियोश्चैकवाक्यलकस्पनं फलान्नरकस्पना-स्वीयः । तथा चोभयोर्निराकांचलम् ।

नन्वेवं समिदादिष्यपि द्रतिकर्तयताकांचा स्थादिति चेत्। दष्टापत्तेः। न चैव तचातिदेशापत्तिः क्रत्सविधानेषु श्रतिदेशा-योगात्। सन्त्रिपत्योपकारकसाकन्धं क्रत्सविधानतेत्यष्टमे वन्धते॥

प्र क्रमस्य विनियोजकत्वाधिकरणम्। क्रमस्य देशसामान्यात्॥ १२॥

दर्भपूर्णमासयोरुपांग्रयाजकमे दिन्धर्नामासीति मन्त्रः पथते । स किसुपांग्रयाजाङ्गं न वेति संग्रयः ।

श्रुतिवाक्ययोरसत्तात् लिङ्गप्रकरणयोश्चाग्नेयादिव्यविशेषादुपांश-याजस्य विशेषाभावात्क्रमस्य चाप्रमाण्लादनङ्गमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः— खपांश्चाजस्याङ्गमिति। कर्मणां मन्त्राणाञ्च क्रमेणासातानां यस्य

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ८३१।

कर्मणः क्रमे यो मन्तः समान्नातः स तिसन्त्रवगते उपितष्ठते।
तयोः समानस्थानानानं सम्बन्धार्थमित्येवमाकांचां परिकल्प्य एकवाक्यता कल्प्यते। क्रमञ्च देशसामान्यं तिद्विधं—पाठसादेश्यमनुष्ठानसादेश्यं चेति। श्राद्यमपि दिधा—यथासंस्थानानं सिनध्यानानं च। तत्राद्यस्थोदाद्यरणसुक्तम्। सिन्निधिसमान्नानोदाद्यरणं
तु सान्नाय्यपात्रशुम्धनकमात् शुम्धधमितिमन्त्रस्थ तदङ्गलम्। श्रनुष्ठानसादेश्यान्तु पशुधर्माणामग्रीषोमीयाङ्गलं वच्यते॥

ई समाखाया विनियोजकताधिकरणम्। त्राखा चैवं तदर्थत्वात्॥ १३॥

दर्भपूर्णमासादिषु श्राध्वर्यवहीचौद्गाचादिसमाख्याताः पदार्थाः किमध्वर्यादिभिरेव कर्त्तव्या जतानियमेनेति संग्रयः।

शुत्याद्यभावादिनयमेनेति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः— श्रनादिस्तावद्यौरुषेयी समाख्या। तेनाध्वर्यवादिग्रब्दाः पदार्थानां वाचकाः। नूनं कर्तृषां पदार्थानां च सम्बन्धं विना तिन्नवीह इति श्रर्थापत्था सम्बन्धसामान्ये निश्चिते कर्त्तृषां कार्यापेचलात् पदार्थानां च कर्च- पेचलात् समाख्यया च सियःपर्युपखापितानां योग्यतया क्रिया- कर्त्रसम्बन्धसेव प्रयोगविधिर्विधन्त इति सिद्धः समाख्याया नियमः॥

श्रुत्यादीनां पूर्वपूर्ववलीयस्वाधिकरग्रम्।
 श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरग्रस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये
 पारदौर्वच्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात्॥ १४॥

ददानौं शुत्यादीनामेकविषयसमवायेन विरोधे सति बलाबलं चिन्यते। तच श्रुत्यादीनां परस्परं दुर्बजलम्। श्रच हेत्र्रर्थविप्रकर्षा-दिति। श्रयः प्रेषलाखाः तिसान्विप्रकर्षः विज्ञम्बितप्रदित्तिकलम्। तच लिङ्गस्य श्रुत्यपेचया दुर्बजलं यावद्धि लिंगेन श्रुतिः कल्या तावत्रत्यचयेव श्रुत्या विनियोगे निराकाङ्गलेन लिङ्गेन श्रुत्यनु-मानस्येवासभवः। न च श्रुतिनिर्पेचस्येव लिङ्गस्य श्रङ्गले बोधकलमस्त्रिति वाच्यम्। सामान्यतः प्रब्देन पुरुषार्थसाधनलाव-गमे तदिग्रेषाकाङ्गायां लिङ्गकल्प्यश्रुतिं विना तदिग्रेषासमर्पेणेन तिस्रदत्त्ययोगात्। एवं वाक्यादिष्यपि श्रुतिकल्पनं बोध्यम्।

उनं च-

"विनियोत्ती श्रुतिस्तावत्सर्वेखेतेषु सम्मता। धीस्तस्याः सन्निकर्षेण विप्रकर्षेण च स्थिता^१"॥

वाकामपि लिङ्गादुर्वलं, श्रसमर्थस्य विनियोगायोगेन लिङ्ग-कल्पनात्।

उनं च-

"वाचनेनेकवाकालादिहातदाचिनां सताम्। कल्पियलाभिधाप्रक्तिश्रुतिः पञ्चात्रकल्यतेर"॥

प्रकर्णमपि वाक्याहुर्वन्तम्। प्रकरणस्थोभयाकाङ्गानचण-स्वैकवाक्यताकन्यकलात्।

उतां च—

"प्रत्यचा सङ्गतिर्वाको न तु प्रकरणेऽस्वसौ । श्राकाङ्कातोऽनुमातव्या तावता विप्रक्रष्टता^३"॥

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ए० ८४५।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ८४८।

ह तन्त्रवात्तिक, ए० प्रा

क्रमोऽपि प्रकरणाहुर्वेखः । क्रमो नाम निराकाङ्काणां सतां पाठानुष्ठानदेशसाम्यमात्रम् । साकाङ्क्तले हि प्रकरणमेव स्थात् । तथा चैकाकाङ्काया श्रपराकाङ्काकन्यनात्क्रमस्य दुर्वेखलम् ।

समाखापि कमाहुर्वेखा। क्रमे हि वेदक स्थितमेवाङ्गाङ्गिनो-र्देशसामान्यं सन्निधिनिमित्तम्। समाख्यायां तु न सन्निधिबौज-मस्ति। तस्नात्समाख्या दुर्वेखा।

उनं च-

"एकदिचिचतुःपञ्चवस्त्वन्तरणकारितम् । श्रुत्यर्थं प्रति वैषम्यं लिङ्गादीनामपौद्यते । । तस्मात्—

"बाधिकैव श्रुतिर्नित्यं समाख्या बाध्यते सदा। मध्यमानां तु बाध्यलं बाधकलमपेचयार"॥

तचैकैकस पञ्चभिः सह विचारो यद्यपि कर्त्सुचितः तथापि बाधितवाध्यस खवाधकवाधेन बाधः सुवोध इति तसुपेच्यैकेनैव सह विचार्थते।

श्रवोदाहरणानि-

स्रुति लिङ्गयोर्विरोधे—'ऐन्द्रा गार्डपत्यस्पितष्ठत' इत्यत्र गार्डपत्यमिति दितीयाश्रुत्या गार्डपत्यं प्रत्येन्द्राः प्रेषत्मभिहिते दन्द्राभिधानसामर्थेरूपलिङ्गस्य श्रुत्यननुमापकतात् बाधः।

लिङ्गवाक्यविरोधे—'स्थोनन्ते सदनं क्रणोमि घृतस्य धारया सुग्रेवं कन्ययामि', 'तिस्मिन् सीदास्टते प्रतितिष्ठ', 'ब्रीहीणां मेध सुमनस्थमान' द्रत्यच हि कन्ययास्थतो मन्त्रो लिङ्गेनोपस्तरणे

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र॰ प्रथम।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र॰ ८००।

उत्तरसु सादने विनियुक्तः। तिसान्नित्यस्य पूर्वसापेचलादेकवाकाता प्रतीत्या समस्त्रस्थैवोभयच विनियोगः प्रतिभासमानोऽपि बाध्यते।

वावयप्रकरणविरोधस्तु— दर्भपूर्णमासप्रकरणपिटते ददं द्यावाप्टियवी मद्रमसृदित्यादी स्क्रकाकानगदे तच हि 'त्रग्नीषोमा—विदं हिवरजुषेतामवीद्यधेतां महोज्यायोकाताम्'। 'दन्द्राग्नी ददं हिवरजुषेतामवीद्यधेतां महोज्यायोकाताम्'। 'दन्द्राग्नी ददं हिवरजुषेतामवीद्यधेतामि'ति पयते। तचाग्नीषोमपदस्य च पौर्ण-मास्थाममावास्थायां च प्रयोगः सिद्धः। त्रवीद्यधेतामित्यादिस्त यावस्त्रत्वः समास्वातस्त्रावस्त्रत्वः पौर्णमास्थामामावास्थायां च प्र-कर्णेन प्रयोक्तयः प्रतिभाति। त्रग्नीषोमादिपदैकवाक्यतावग्रेन तु यवस्थितैकेकस्य ग्रेषस्य पौर्णमास्थाद्यङ्गलम्।

क्रमप्रकर्णविरोधस्तु—ग्रोनःग्रेपाख्यानादिषु क्रमादिम-पेचनीयाङ्गलेन भासमानेषु प्रकरणाद्राजसूयाङ्गलेन सिद्धेषु द्रष्टयः।

क्रमसमाखाविरोधोऽपि—पौरोडाणिकसमाख्यायाः पुरो-डाणपाच्युत्थनार्थलेन भासमाने क्रमात् साक्रियाङ्गता ।

"तथा धालर्थकर्मले पद्श्रुत्योपदर्भिते^१।

भावनाया विधिश्रुत्या पुरुषार्थां ग्रसाध्यता र " ॥ इति

तवाकाङ्गादिनिरपेचबोधकः प्रब्दः श्रुतिः। सा च किया विधाची विनियोत्ती श्रिभधाची च। श्राद्या खिङ्खोट्तव्यादिः। दितीया तु पद्श्रुतिः कारकविभिक्तः षष्टी च। वतीया वितरा। खिङ्खं सामर्थम्। वाक्यं तु खचितम्। प्रकर्णसभयाकाङ्का। स्थानं सादेश्यम्। समाख्या यौगिकः प्रब्दः॥

१ 'जपद्रिते ' इत्यन 'जपपादिते ' इति तन्त्रवार्त्तिकपाठः।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्रः प्रदेश। चतुर्थचरणे 'पुरुषार्थस्य साध्यता' इति तन्त्र÷ वार्त्तिकपाटः।

द्र द्वादशोपसत्ताया अहीनाङ्गताधिकरणम्। अहीनो वा प्रकरणाङ्गीणः॥ १५॥

"एवं विरोधे श्रुत्यादेर्वलावलमुदौरितम्। श्रतः परं विरोधः का का नास्तीति विचार्यते १"॥

तत्र प्रथमं प्रकरणस्य श्रुत्यादिभिः सह चिन्ता । ज्योतिष्टोम-प्रकरणे 'तिस्र एव साङ्गस्थोपसदो दादणाहीनस्थे 'ति श्रुतम् ।

तत्र साझग्रब्देन सहाझा समायमानलाज्ज्योतिष्टोमोऽभिधीयत इति श्रुपसलं च तदङ्गमिति स्थितम् । दाद्गोपसलं तु किं तस्वैवाङ्गसुत दाद्गाहादेरहर्गणस्वेति संग्रयः ।

तच प्रकरणात्त्रस्थेवेति प्राप्तम् । स एव चाहीनः न हीयत दति व्युत्पत्था । सर्वेऽपि हि क्रतवस्तं प्रकृतिलेनापेचमाणा न जहति । एवं प्राप्ते क्रमः—

> "साझादर्थान्तरं तावदहीन इति गम्यते। रूढिश्चेयं दिराचादी सा च योगाद्दलीयसी॥ तचापि यौगिकलं चेन्न सचेव्यप्रयोगतः। सध्योदान्तं पदं चेदमतः खप्रत्ययान्ततार"॥

"किञ्च नञ्समासे हि सत्यययपूर्वपद्प्रकृतिखरलेन श्राद्य-दात्तलं खात्। तसादहीनश्रुतेरहर्गणवचनलात् तदिषयमेव दाद्यो-पसत्तं षष्ठीश्रुत्या गम्यते। तत्तु पृथ्यविधीयते वाक्यान्तरप्राप्तं सत् श्रुपसलखुत्यर्थमनूयते वेत्यन्यदेतत्। सर्वथा तावत् दाद्याहीनखे-त्येतदहर्गणविषयमिति सिद्धम्हणः।

१ मासदीपिका, ए० २४९।

२ मास्तदीपिका, १० २५०।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २५०।

श्राह च-

"दाद्यालमहीनेन षष्ठीश्रुत्येव सङ्गतम् । श्रहीनोऽहःसमृह्य च्योतिष्टोंसे हि साङ्गता ।

१ कुलायादौ प्रतिपदोरुकाषीधिकरणम्। दित्वबहुत्वयुक्तं वा चोदनात्तस्य॥१७॥

च्योतिष्टों से श्रूयते—'युवं हि स्थः खर्पती' इति दयोर्यजमानयोः प्रतिपदं कुर्यात्। 'एते श्रस्ट्यमिंदव' इति वक्तभ्यो यजमानेभ्य इति।

तच किसेते प्रतिपदौ च्योतिष्टोमस्य उत दिवज्ञयजमानकेषु कुलायाहीनादिषूत्ऋस्ये दति संग्रयः।

तत्र यद्यपि 'वसन्ते वसन्ते ज्योतिषा यजेते'त्याख्यातोपात्तं गुणभ्यतोपादेयकर्र्णगतं एकलं विविचितं तथापि नित्येऽप्रिक्तिकताङ्ग-त्यागाभ्युपगमात् यदा एको न प्रक्तुयात्तदा श्रङ्गान्तरवदेकल-खापि इयतया दौ बह्दवो वा यजेरन् तदा श्रपणेन प्रक्रतावेव प्रति-पदिधानसुपपन्नमिति नोत्कर्ष दति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

उपादेयाङ्गविषयो हि यथाप्रितिन्यायः। एकलं लनुपादेयम्।
त्रित एको यथा प्रक्तुयादित्युपवन्थात् त्रङ्गान्तरं दिचणापरिमाणादिकं परित्यच्याप्येक एव प्रवर्त्तत इति प्रक्रतो दिलवज्ञलयोरभावात् षष्ठीत्रुत्या तत् संयुक्तयोः प्रतिपदोस्तदसु कुलायादिषूत्कर्षः।
न च पत्थिभिप्रायं दिलवज्ञलं युक्तं, यजमानग्रब्देन पुंस एवाभिधानात्। वज्ञभ्य इति विरूपिकग्रेषस्य जघन्यलात्। 'उपास्ने
गायता नर' इति प्रतिपदोः निरवकाग्रलप्रसङ्गाच ।

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, प्र॰ प्रप्र।

१० जाघन्या अनुत्कर्षाधिकरणम्। जाघनी चैकदेशत्वात्॥ २०॥

" दर्भपूर्णमासयोः पत्नीसंयाजान् प्रक्तत्य श्रूयते 'जाघन्याः पत्नीः संयाजयन्ती'ति ।

तिन प्रमावुत्कृष्यते न वेति सन्देहः।

तवारादुपकारकात् सामवायिकस्य गरीयस्वात् जाघनीग्रब्दस्य जोत्तरार्धादिग्रब्दवदेकदेग्रवचनलादेकदेग्रद्रव्याणाञ्च विद्यमानेक-देश्रिसंयोगात् यव परप्रयुक्तपश्चतुनिष्यत्वा जाघनी विद्यते तव तसंस्कार्लन पत्नीसंयाजविधानमिति प्राप्तिः अस्मः—

" जाघनी हि गुणलेन तिरीयोक्त्याऽवगस्यते ।
पत्नीसंयाजयागाञ्च द्रव्यापेचाव्यवस्थिताः ॥
तेन तेषां गुणलेन जाघन्यच विधीयते ।
न च सापेचटित्तलसुत्तराधीदिग्रब्दवत् "॥

" जाघनी प्रब्दो हि इदयादि प्रब्दवत् श्रवयव निष्ठजाति वचनः । सा चान्तरेणापि पश्चपादानं परप्रयुक्तपश्चपजीवनं वा प्रक्योपा-दात्म् । न चेयमवश्यं कागादेव ग्रहीत्या । तसाद्दर्भपौर्णमासिक-पत्नीसंयाजाङ्गभ्दतेनेवाच्येन सन्ह विकच्पते जाघनी है "॥

११ संतर्दनस्य संस्थानिवेशाधिकरणम्।
सन्तर्दनं प्रक्ततौ क्रयणवदनर्थलोपात् स्यात्॥ २४॥
ज्योतिष्टोमेऽधिषवणफलके प्रक्रत्य 'न सन्तृणित्त त्रसन्तृषे हि
इन्' दत्यसन्तर्दनं विधाय पुनः श्रुतं 'दीर्घसोमे संहचेत् ध्रुता' दति।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २५२।

२ मास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २५२।

२ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, ए० प्टर।

तच किं सन्तर्दनं प्रकृतावेव श्रथ वोत्क्रस्यते । यदायुत्कर्षस्तदापि किं दिराचादिस्त्रेव श्राहोस्तित् संस्थान्तरेषु दिराचादिषु चाविभेषेण श्रीमष्टोमाधिकमाचे इति सन्देहः ।

तच प्रकृतेरपौष्टिपग्रवन्धाद्यपेचया दीर्घलान्तचैव निवेगः। यद्यप्यसन्तर्दनं तच विह्तितं तथापि विकल्पः क्रयवत्।

ननु क्रयाणां समुचय द्रत्युपरिष्टात् खास्यति । सत्यं, पूर्वपचेण दृष्टान्तोऽयम् । तदुक्तमाचार्योः "-" न चावग्र्यं सिद्धान्त एव सर्वत्र दृष्टान्तो भवति । यस्य कस्य चित् निदर्शनस्य प्रतिपत्तिकार्णल-सिद्धे "रिति तस्मात् प्रकृतौ निवेश द्रित प्राप्ते ब्रूमः-

द्ष्टाद्यपेच्या दीर्घलस्थायिभिचारेणाविशेषणलात् सोमान्तरा-पेचमेव दीर्घलं न च प्रकृते तद्स्तीत्युत्कर्षः। न च दीर्घस्य यजमानस्य सोम दति विग्रहमाश्रित्य प्रकृतावेव निवेशः। कर्म-धारयस्य बलीयस्त्वात् धत्या दत्यर्थवादानुपपत्तेश्च। न हि यजमानदेर्घात् धारणे कश्चिद्विशेषः। तस्मात् कर्मापेचमेव दीर्घल-मित्युत्कर्षः स्थितः। स च दिराचादिस्वेव न तु संस्थासु। तचापि चोदकप्राप्तस्य दश्रसृष्टेस्तावत एवाभिषवात् धत्या दति वाक्यशेषा-नुपपत्तेः। तस्मात् दिराचादिस्वेवोत्कर्षं दित प्राप्ते बृमः—

सत्यसुत्कर्षो न तु दिराचादिस्वेव। न च चोदकप्राप्तपरिमाण-विरोधः। दीर्घपर्वसोमग्रहणेन द्रमसृष्टिचिपर्वपरिमाणग्योरिवरोधात्। न च प्रकर्णात्संख्यास्वेवेति वाच्यम्। संख्यानां प्रकर्णाभावात्॥

१ कुमारिलभट्टाचार्यैः।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, १० प्टर।

१२ प्रवर्ग्यनिषेधाधिकरणम्।

संखायुक्तं क्रतोः प्रकरणात् स्यात् ॥ ३२॥

च्योतिष्टोमे 'पुरस्तादुपसदां प्रवग्धं प्रदणकी'ति प्रवग्धं प्रकत्य श्रूयते 'न प्रथमयज्ञं प्रदुच्चादि'ति ।

तत्र किमयं प्रतिषेधो ज्योतिष्टोमखाङ्गं उत प्रथमप्रयोगस्थेति संग्रयः।

तच यज्ञग्रब्दस्य यागवचनलात् प्राथम्यस्य च तदिग्रेषणलात् प्रकरणात् ज्योतिष्टोमनामेदम् । तसादाच्यात्प्रकरणाचायं कतो-रङ्गमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

प्रयोगाङ्गिमित प्रथमप्रब्देन ह्याद्यं प्रवर्त्तनसुच्यते न तु क्रतुः।
स तु प्रयोगिविषयलाञ्चचण्या गम्येत। न च सिद्धान्ते यज्ञप्रब्द्धः
प्रयोगे लचणा स्थादेवेति वाच्यम्। सुख्यप्रथमप्रब्दानुरोधेन
जघन्ये यज्ञप्रब्दे लचणाया न्याय्यलात्। तसात् प्रयोगाङ्गं, प्रथमे
यज्ञप्रयोगे न प्रद्यञ्चादिति। श्रिप्तिष्टोमे प्रदणकीति वाक्यान्तरं
तत्प्रतिप्रसवार्थम्। तेनाग्निष्टोमप्रथमप्रयोगे विकन्यः। स च व्यवस्थितः। श्रनूचानेन कर्त्तव्यं श्रन्येस्तु नेति। तथा च श्रूयते 'कामं
तु योऽनूचानः स्थान्तस्य प्रद्यञ्चा'दिति। श्रतिराचप्रथमाद्दारे तु
सर्वेषामेवाप्रयोगः प्रतिप्रसवाभावात्। विद्दितश्चातिराचस्थापि पाचिकः
प्रथमाद्दारः। तस्मात् प्रथमं यज्ञमानोऽतिराचिण यज्ञेतिति॥

१३ पौष्णपेषस्य विक्ततौ विनियोगाधिकरणम्। पौष्णं पेषणं विक्ततौ प्रतीयेताचोदनात् प्रक्रतौ॥ ३४॥

दर्भपूर्णमासयोः 'पूषा प्रपिष्टभागोऽदन्तको हि स' इति पेषण-प्रकर्णे पूषाभावाद्यत्र पूषा तत्र वाक्यादुत्क्षय्यत इति प्राप्तिसूत्रमेतत् ॥

१४ पौषापेषणस्य चरावेव निवेशाधिकरणम्। तत्सर्वार्थमविशेषात्॥ ३५॥

तत्येषणं किं पशी चरी पुरोडाग्रे च उत चरावेवेति संग्रयः। म्विग्रेषात्सर्वेच **र**ित प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—चरावेवेति । प्राप्ते हि सानाय्यविकारतया ऋत्यन्ताप्राप्तं विधेयं खात्। इदयादाकति-विनाग्रञ्चत् (?) पुरोडाग्रे तु चोदका देव सिद्धम् । न चैतदिधिवलात् अपणोत्तरकालं पेषणान्तरमस्त्रिति वाच्यम् । श्रशाप्तपेषणे चरावस्य चरितार्थवात् । तसाचरावेव चोदकप्राप्तं प्रयोजनाभावान्निवर्त्तमानं पेषणं प्रति प्रस्चयत इति लाघवम्। न च पिष्टस्य चर्लयाघातः, पाकवैश्रचेन तद्पपत्तेः। श्रनवस्रावितान्तरूप्रपक्को हि चहरित्यच्यते। श्रत एव पिष्टकचरुरिति व्यवहारः।

१५ पौष्णपेषणस्यैकदेवत्ये निवेशाधिकर्णम्। एकस्मिन्नेकसंयोगात्॥ ३८॥

चरावेव पेषणमिति खितम्। तत्किमन्यसहितपूषदेवताकेऽपि भवति उत नेवलपूषदेवतान इति संप्रयः।

दिदेवत्येऽपि पेषणमिति प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

"देवता निष्पाला नैव पेषणस्य प्रयोजिका।

उपादानं च यागस्य भागग्रब्देन विद्यते ।

भागप्रब्दो हि त्रयागलचकः। स च दिदेवत्यो न नेवलेन पूष्णा व्यपदिम्यते। न ह्येन्द्राग्नो ग्रहपुरोडाग्नो त्राग्नेयेन्द्रपीत-ग्रब्दाम्यां व्यपदिग्येते द्रत्युक्तम्। न च तद्भितसमासानन्तर्गतलात्

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २५९।

पूष्णो वैषम्यमिति ग्रङ्मम् । तथापि दिदेवत्ये भागग्रब्दार्थस्वैव पूषविभिष्टस्थाभावात् तसादिकादेवत्य एव पेषणमिति सिद्धम् ।

द्ति मीमांसाग्रास्त्रसर्वेखे वतीयाध्यायस्य वतीयः पादः। संस्थायुक्तं क्रतोः प्रकरणात् स्यात्रः।

ऋय तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः।

१ निवौतस्यार्थवादत्वाधिकरणम्। निवौतमिति मनुष्यधर्मः शब्दस्य तत्प्रधानत्वात्॥१॥

श्रुत्यादि चिकस्य प्रकर्णेन सह विरोधाविरोधौ प्राग्वदिहापि चिन्चेते । दर्भपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'निवीतं मनुखाणां प्राचीनावीतं पितृणासुपवीतं देवानासुपययते देवलक्समेव तत्कुरूत' दति ।

तत्र निवीतं मनुष्याणामित्यस्थार्थवादलमो डुम्बराधिकरणेन सिद्धम्। विधिलं काला तु चिन्चते। तत्र षष्ठीश्रुत्या ग्रद्धमनुष्यधर्म दत्येकः पन्नः। "प्रकरणाविरोधात् क्रत्युक्तपुरुषधर्मो लोहितोष्णी-षादिवत् दत्यपरः। प्रकरणात् ग्रद्धक्रतुधर्मः प्रयाजादिवत्। मनुष्यग्रहणन्तु कर्त्तृसम्बन्धानुवाद दत्यन्यः। प्राचीनावीतोपवीता-वैषम्यात्प्रकरणाविरोधाय च प्रकरणे यन्मनुष्यप्रधानकं कर्मलान्वाहार्थ-दानादि तस्य तद्धर्म दत्यपरः। प्राचीनावीतोपवीतयोः स्वतन्त्र-पिष्टदेवताप्रधानकर्मविषयलात् तद्वेषम्यात् निवीतमपि स्वतन्त्रं

१ पङ्किरियमधम्बदा कुतिश्विक्षेखकदोषवशात्मुअष्टेति मन्ये।

यन्मनुष्यप्रधानमातिथ्यादिकर्म तद्धर्म इत्यपरः १ । उपवीतिविधे – रयमर्थवाद एव । विध्येकवान्यवादिति कला चिन्तोद्वाटनम्॥

इत श्रारम्थ "विधिस्तु धार्गोऽपूर्वत्वा"रिद्यनान्यधि-करणानि भाष्टेऽदृष्टान्यपि वार्त्तिकानुरोधादुपन्यस्वने ।

२ उपवीतस्य दर्भपूर्णमासाङ्गताधिकर्णम् । उपवीतं लिङ्गदर्भनात् सर्वधर्मः स्यात् ॥ १०॥ लिङ्गप्रकरणयोर्विरोधाविरोधविचारोऽयम् । दर्भपूर्णमासयोदप-ययत दति श्रुतम् ।

तच स किसुपवीतं सर्वदेवकर्माङ्गसुत दर्भपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति संग्रेये 'म्हताग्निहोचे प्राचीनावीती दोहयेद्यज्ञोपवीती हि देवेम्यो दोह-यती'ति सिद्धवदेवाग्निहोचे यज्ञोपवीतानुवादेन लिङ्गेन प्रकरणं बाधिला सर्वार्थलमिति प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

प्रकरणात् दर्भपूर्णमासाङ्गं लिङ्गमिप दर्भपूर्णमासख्खेवानुवादः।
नचैवं देवेभ्य इति बज्जवचनानुपपित्तः। साम्नाय्यस्य वैकल्पिकेन्द्रमच्चेन्द्रदेवत्यलात्। श्रिष्ठाचे तु श्रिप्रसूर्यप्रजापत्यभिप्राचेण तदुपपत्तिरिति चेन्न। प्रकृतिविक्कतिदेवताभिप्राचेण तदुपपत्तेः।

इ उपवीतस्य विधित्वाधिकरणम् । विधिर्वा स्यादपूर्वत्वात् ॥ १२ ॥ उपव्ययत द्रत्युदाहरणम् । 'नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती'ति स्यितप्राप्तवादत्वाद द्रित प्राप्ते विधिरिति सिद्धान्तः ।



१ ग्रास्तदीपिका, ४० २६०।

२ मीमांसास्त्रम्, २-४-१५।

पुरुषार्थतया हि स्पृतितः प्राप्तिः । क्रत्वर्थतया तु विधिरयम् । एवं वा स्पृतिप्राप्तस्यायमनुवादः । स्पृतिश्च सर्वकर्मार्थितया प्रापय-तौति पूर्वः पन्तः ।

प्रकरणाद्दर्भपूर्णमासाङ्गमिति सिद्धान्तः।

एवं वा स्ताग्निहोत्रे श्रूयते 'यज्ञोपवीती हि देवेभ्यो दोह-यती'ति।

किमयं दैवाग्निहोत्राङ्गतया यज्ञोपवीतस्य विधिः उत दर्भपूर्ण-मासादिषु प्राप्तस्य प्राचीनावीतस्त्रत्यर्थोऽनुवादः ।

तत्र प्राचीनावीती दोइयतीति श्रग्निहोत्रस्य म्हतावस्थायां वचनात् यज्ञोपवीती हीत्यादिनापि तस्येव जीवदवस्थायां उपवीतं गम्यते । तचापूर्वलादि(धिलं कन्पनी ?)यम् । स्थितं तावदपर्य-वसितम् ॥

४ उपवीतोदगग्रत्वयोरनुवादताधिकरणम्। उदक्त्वं चापूर्वत्वात्॥१३॥

तचैव श्रूयते 'ये पुरोदञ्चो दर्भास्तान् दिचणायांस्तृणीयादि'ति।
ये पुरोदञ्च इति विधिरतानुवाद इति संग्रये वाक्यभेदेन
विधिः। पुरा जीवदवस्त्रायां ये दर्भास्ते उदञ्चः कार्या इति।
दिचिणायानिति तु स्तावस्त्राविषयकं वाक्यान्तरिमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—

विध्यभावादिधन्तरेकवाक्यलाचानुवादः । न चापूर्वलम् । 'श्रयवन्युदगग्राणी'तिसर्वकर्मविषयिष्या स्वर्ष्यवाग्निचेऽपि तत्राप्तिः । श्रयवन्युदगग्राणी'तिसर्वकर्मविषयिष्या स्वर्ष्यवाग्निचेऽपि तत्राप्तिः । श्रयतेष्यज्ञोपवीती हि देवेभ्यो दोच्यतीति हि प्रब्दोपबन्धात् प्राचीनावीतिविधिविग्रेषलात् श्रन्-वादलं न चापूर्वलम् । दर्भपूर्णमासादिषु प्राप्तलात् तस्नाच रूप-भङ्गेन विधिकस्पना ॥

प्र समिडारणस्य विधिताधिकरणम्। विधिस्तु धारणेऽपूर्वत्वात्॥ १५॥

स्ताग्निचे श्रूयते 'श्रधस्तात् समिधं धारयन्नतुद्रवेदुपरि हि देवेभ्यो धारयती'ति ।

किमयं जीवदग्निहोंचे विधिरतानुवाद इति संग्रये श्राचार-प्राप्तस्थानुवादः । सर्वमभ्यिर्हितं द्रव्यं प्रच्छाद्येव देशान्तरं नेयमिति श्राचारः । श्रतोऽग्निहोचद्रव्यमपि गार्हपत्यादाहवनीयमानीयमान-माच्हादियतव्यम् । तत् केनेत्याकाङ्गायां नियमादृष्टार्थं सिम-दिधानम् । सा चोपरि धार्य्यमाणेव प्रच्छादनचमा न लन्यथिति प्राप्तसुपरि धारणमनूद्यते । इत्येवं प्राप्ते श्रूमः—

सुग्दण्डे इति देशनियमाद्धविषः प्रागसौ धार्यितया तेनोपरि धार्णमप्राप्तं इविःप्रच्छादकलायोगात् । श्रतो हिशब्दत्यागेन वाक्यं भिला विधिः कल्प्यते ॥

६ दिग्विभागस्यार्थवादताधिकरणम्। दिग्विभागस्र तदसंबन्धस्यार्थचेतुत्वात्॥ १६॥

'प्राचीनवंग्नं करोती'ित विधाय श्रूयते 'प्राची' देवा यभजना दिचणां पितरः प्रतीचीं मनुष्या' दृत्यादि । तच निवीताधि— करणवत् सर्वे पचा रचितवाः । श्रभ्यधिकाग्रद्धा तु—

"पुरा कल्पस्तरूपेण भजत्यर्थानुषङ्गिणा। दिखिभागस्य सम्बन्धात् निवीतातुस्त्रतामतिः"॥ सिद्धान्तस्तु प्राम्बत्॥

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, ४० ८२१।

७ पर्काष दितादीनामनुवादताधिकरणम्। पर्काष दितपूर्णाष्ट्रतिवदम्धन्व तदत्॥ १७॥

'यत्पक्षि दितं तद्देवानां यदन्तरा तन्मनुष्याणा'मिति, तथा 'यत् पूर्णं तन्मनुष्याणा'मिति, तथा 'घृतं देवानां, मसु पित्वणां निष्पन्नं मनुष्याणामि'ति ।

तत्र मनुखसंयुक्ता उदाहरणम्। तथा 'यो विद्ग्धः स नैर्ऋतः योऽश्रितः स रौद्र' इति। श्रवापि निवीतवत् सर्वे पचा योज्याः।

त्रभयिकाशंका लेषा—विधिलेऽपौह न फलं कल्यम्। जीकिकानामेव क्षुप्रफलानां विशेषनियममात्रविधानात्। यद्भंलवनं तदान्तरा कर्त्त्रथम्। यावन्तीयते तावत् पूर्णं मात्रथम्। यावच्च स्वेहकार्यं तत्सवं विजीनेन नवनीतेन निष्पकायुतशब्दवाच्येन कर्त्तथ-मिति। तत्स्य नियमादृष्टमाचं भविष्यति। नैर्च्यतरौद्रयोश्च विद्यधलाम्हतले कर्त्तथ दति। प्रसिद्धयोरेव नैर्च्यतरौद्रयोश्चपमात्र-विधी जाघवमिति। तामिमां शङ्कां व्यावर्त्तयितुमितदेशः॥

द्र अन्ततवदननिषेधस्य क्रतुधर्मताधिकरणम्। अकर्म क्रतुसंयुक्तं संयोगानित्यानुवादः स्यात्॥ १८॥

क्रतप्रकरणगताः प्रतिषेधा उदाहरणम् । दर्भपूर्णमासयोः श्रुतं 'नानृतं वदेदि'ति ।

किमयं पुरुषार्थं उत कलर्थं दूति सन्देहः।

सर्वत्र च यो यद्र्घप्रवृक्तः सन् निवार्यते स तद्र्घमेव प्रतिषिद्धो भवतीति प्रवृक्तिमर्थकां चिन्तनीयम् । तद्यभिधायकाख्यात-वग्नेन निर्णयमित्याख्यातग्रब्दाश्चिन्याः । किमर्थाः प्रवृक्तीरुपाद्दत द्रति । तद्र्यमपि किमाख्यातं कर्त्तृवाचकं न वेति । **ন**'ৰ--

"प्रतीतेः सार्णात् कर्त्तृर्विग्रेषेरपृथक् श्रुतेः । कर्त्तृवाचिलमाख्यातप्रत्ययस्थावसीयते । ॥

वदेदिति ह्याख्यातात् कर्त्ता प्रतीयते। 'कर्त्तरि कदि'ति चाधिक्रत्य 'लः कर्मणि चे'ति चकारेण कर्त्तृवाचिलं सर्यते। पचित देवदत्त दति च कर्त्तृविभेषवाचकैः सामानाधिकरण्यं दृश्यते। तस्मात् प्रक्रत्यर्थभ्दतं वदनं प्रत्ययवाच्यपुरुषार्थमिति प्रतिषेधोऽपि तद्यं एव न्याय्यः। तद्यमर्थः। यत्पुरुषोपकारितया प्रसन्तं वदनं तन्न तथा किन्त्वपकारमेवास्य साध्यतीति। तेन श्रुत्या प्रकरणं बाधिला पुरुषार्थः प्रतिषेधः। श्रयमेव च सार्त्तस्य प्रतिषेधस्य मूलमिति।

श्रदोच्यते-

"त्राख्यातप्रत्ययाः सर्वे क्रियाया त्रभिधायकाः। तत एव प्रतीतस्य न कर्त्तुरभिधेयता^र"॥

न च व्याकरणस्प्रतिविरोधः । ++ कयोरिति संख्याश्रास्त्रेण सहैकवाक्यापन्नस्य 'लः कर्मणी'त्यस्य कर्त्तुरेकलेऽभिधे लकारेक-वचनं तिबादिश्रयोक्तव्यमित्यर्थपर्य्यवसानेन संख्यावाचित्वपर्य्यवसायि-लात्। "यदि हि श्रास्त्रेकदेशालोचनमाचेण विरोध उद्गायते तर्हि यावच्चीववाक्यमाचापेचयाऽदीचितादिरय्यजुङ्गन् प्रत्यवेयात्।

त्राह च-

श्रन्य एवेकदेशेन ग्रास्त्रसार्थः प्रतीयते । श्रन्यस्य परिपूर्णेन समस्ताङ्गोपसंच्रतौ ॥

१ मास्त्रदीपिका, ४० २६५।

२ भारतदीपिका, ४० २६०।

विशेषेण च व्याकर्णे। तत्र ह्येकैकस्मिन् पदे प्रावेणाष्टाध्यायी व्याप्रियते^१"।

नन्वेवं देवदत्तेन पच्यत द्रत्यचेव देवदत्तः पचतीत्यचापि तिङ्-कर्त्तुरनिभधानात् अनिभित्तिताधिकारविहिता त्वतीया स्थात् । न च संख्यायामनिभिहितायामिति तदर्थः । देवदत्तः पाठक द्रत्य-चापि तदापत्तेः । $\times \times \times$ लासंख्यानिभधानादिति चेत् । न ।

त्रविभित्तं हि त्रवोधितलम् । वोध्य प्रत्या जन्नण्या वेत्यन्यदेतत् । यदा दृद्धिगुणप्रव्दो लोकवेदयोरादेनदेङां वाचक-लेन यद्यपि न दृष्टो ; त्र्रथापि वैयाकरणः खप्रास्त्रपरिभाषितो । यया वा त्रसन्नेव लकार ज्योचितस्त्रथापि कर्त्तृकर्माभिधायिलमपि तेषां पारिभाषिकमस्त । यच तु न्यायानुगतिस्त्रच लोकवेदयोरपि तदुक्तार्थपरिग्रहः । न चैतावता स्तृतेरप्रामाण्यम् । त्र्र्थवादवत्ता-त्पर्यविषये प्रामाण्यात् । न चैवं कर्त्तुरेव वाच्यले सामानाधि-करण्यानुपपत्तिः । ग्रुक्ता गौरिति वत् खचण्या तदुपपत्तेः । तस्मात् श्रोतलाभावाच प्रकरणं वाध्यते । न चैवं दर्पपूर्णमास-विधिनेव विहितलादङ्गे विधिरनर्थकः स्थादिति वाच्यम् । तद-भावधालर्थस्येव भाव्यतापत्तौ दर्पपूर्णमासकर्थभावेन ग्रहणानुपपत्तेः । तस्मादाकाङ्गोच्छापकलेनाङ्गविधिरर्थवान् । त्राह च—

" यावन्न विधिसंस्पर्भस्तावन्नास्य प्रयोजनम् । विना च तेन धालयौं न क्रलङ्गं प्रतौयते^र "॥

"श्रतश्च वदेदित्यनेनैवमवगतं 'दर्भपूर्णमासोपकारं वदनेन साधये'दिति। श्रनृतपदवजाच (एवं भवति) 'यददनेन कुर्या-

१ तन्त्रवार्त्तिक, ४० स्प्रइ-स्प्रध।

२ तन्त्रवात्तिक, १० ९७८।

त्तदनृतेने'ति । पुनस्य नञा सम्बन्धात् यदनृतवदनेनोपकुर्यात् तन्नेति । ततस्य यावान् कर्मार्थी वादस्तत्रानृतं वर्जनीयम् । तेन यवमयः पुरोडाग्रः कर्त्तव्य द्रत्येवं त्रादावध्वर्युसुक्का त्रन्ते बीह्रिमय एव क्रियतामिति न विसम्वदितव्यम् १ " ।

स्नार्त्तस्तु प्रतिषेधः पुरुषार्थः स्वतन्त्र एव । न लेतन्त्रूजकः । न च तेनेव पुरुषस्य सर्वदा अनृते व्यावर्त्तिते किमनेनेति वाच्यम् । शुद्धपुरुषधर्मातिकतोरङ्गमिष्टः प्रकरणाश्रयात् दति ॥

१ जंजभ्यमानधर्माणां प्रकरणे निवेशाधिकरणम्। ऋहीनवत् पुरुषधर्मस्तदर्थत्वात्॥ २०॥

दर्भपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'जंजभ्यमानो ब्रूयात् मिय दचक्रतः' इति । तच किमिदं मन्त्रवचनं ग्रद्धपुरुषधर्म उत क्रत्युक्षपुरुषसंस्कारः क्रतोरेवाङ्गमिति संभयः ।

तन—

" जंजभ्यमानधर्मीऽयं वाक्यात् प्रकर्णेन तु । कलङ्गं दर्वलं तच तेनास्य पुरुषार्थतार " ॥

न चैवं फलकल्पना दोषाय। वाक्यावगतपुरुषार्थलवलेन फलाकाङ्कायां सत्यां 'प्राणापानावेवात्मन्धन्ते' दित वाक्यभेषेण राचिसचवत् फललाभात्। "कर्त्तरि क्रदिति श्रनन्यपरसारणा"-दित्याचार्य्याः । यद्यपि ग्रानच्प्रत्ययेनेदं सारणसुपन्यासाईं लादि-माचविषयत्वात्। श्रन्यथा क्रियमाणो घट दत्यादौ कर्मणि ग्रानच् प्रत्ययो न स्थात्। तदुक्तम्—क्रद्वाक्यभेषोयमनिर्दिष्टार्थेषु × ×

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० ९७८।

२ शास्त्रदीपिका, प्र० २६०।

१ कुमारिल्महाचार्यासन्त्रवात्तिके, ४० ९८२-९८३।

× लादिषूपितष्ठते। न तु लेष्टिनिर्ज्ञातार्थे स्विति (?)। तथापि लः कर्मणीत्यनेनैवाच कर्त्तृवाचकलं बोद्धव्यम्। न हि तिबादिस्विव ग्रानिजव धावपि (?) द्वीकयोरित्यादिनैकवाक्यतास्ति येन संख्या-माचं वाच्यं भवेत्। सुप्तिङामेवैकवचनादिसंज्ञाविधानात्।

एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—सत्यं वाक्यं प्रवक्तं किन्तु विरोधो न चेह सः कताविप जंजभ्यमानपुरुषसलात्। तस्मात्तत्वंस्कारसुखेनैव क्रलर्थलम्। तथा च फलमपि न कल्प्यमिति॥

१० ऋवगोरणादीनां पुमर्थताधिकरणम्।

ग्रंथी च सर्वपरिदानात्॥ २३॥
दर्भपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'यो ब्राह्मणायावग्ररेदि'ति।

किमयं प्रतिषेधः कर्ल्यः पुरुषार्थी वेति संग्रयः।

"तच—

पालाभावात् क्रतोश्वापि प्रकृतलात्त्तदर्थता ।
क्षृप्तलात्तु पालखायं पुरुषार्थो न तु क्रतोः "॥
यातयादिति हि साध्यतया यातना गम्यते न तु पूर्वाधि—
करणखप्राणधारणवद्दत्तीमानतया । निषिद्धपालं च प्रदर्भनमात्रेणैव
सम्बध्यते न तु विधिपालवत् कामपदोपवन्धमपेचते । न हि
कश्चित्पापपालं कामयते । तस्मात् पालवलात् पुरुषार्थः न क्रलर्थः ।

११ मलवदासःसंवादिनिषेधाधिकरणम् । प्रागपरोधान्मलवद्वाससः ॥ २४ ॥ दर्भपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते 'मलवदाससा न सम्बदेदि'ति । किमयं प्रतिषेधः क्रलर्थः पुरुषार्थौ वेति संग्रयः ।

१ मालदीपिका, प्र० २६९।

प्रकरणात् कलर्थे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः— तामपर्ध्य यजेतेति वचनात् सर्वस्मात क्रतुयापारात निष्टत्ता रजखला। तेनानया सह समादख कतावप्रसक्तालात् प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः। प्ररूषस्य हि स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रवर्त्त-मानख रजखलया प्रसञ्चते सम्वाद इति स एव प्रतिषिधते। तसात् प्रषार्थता ।

१२ सुवर्णधारणादौनां पुरुषधर्मताधिकरणम्। अप्रकर्णे तु तड्यर्मस्ततो विशेषात् ॥ २६ ॥ श्रनार्भ्य श्रूयते 'तस्मात् सुवर्षं हिर्ण्यं भार्यं दुर्वर्णीऽस्य भाव्यो भवतीं ति।

तच संग्रय:- किं हिरण्यधारणिमदं क्रलङ्गतया विधीयते जत क्रतुगतिहरुखानुवादेन धार्णसंस्कारो विधीयते। श्रथ वा हिर्एं इस्ते भवतीति विह्तिधारणानुवादेन सुवर्णलं ग्रोभनरूपता विधीयते यद्भिरखं भार्थं तत्मुवर्णमिति उत हिरखधारणं पुर-षार्थतया विधीयत इति।

নৰ__

" पुरुषार्थलपचे हि फलं कल्प्यमतः कतोः । श्रङ्गं खादैदिकलेन क्रियालेन च साम्यतः "॥

" ऋष वा धारणस स्वभावत एव धार्यमाणसंस्कारलात् क्रत्यश्रत्या च हिर्ष्यस प्राधान्यावगमानिष्ययोजनस्य च बौकिनस्य संस्कारायोगात् क्रतुगतिहरखानुवादेन धारणसंस्कारविधिः। श्रथ वा लाघवाद्धारणमधनूष सुवर्णतामाचं विधीयते। चेधापिरे कलर्थतित प्राप्ते ज्ञमः—

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए १७१।

२ माखदीपिका, ए० २०१।

"न क्रतुस्तद्भिरण्धं वा नियमेनाच^१ गम्यते । तस्मान्न क्रतुभेषलं विधेस्तु पुरुषार्थता^र "॥

सर्वो ह्यनारभ्यवादो वाक्यसंयोगेनाङ्गं विधन्ते लिङ्गेन वा। न चेह्रोभयमप्यस्ति। न च हिरप्यधारणं लिङ्गम्। जुङ्गादिवद-व्यभिचरितक्रतुसम्बन्धाभावात्। लोकेऽपि हिरप्यसङ्गावात्। न हि द्रव्यार्जनं क्रल्यं किन्तु पुरुषार्थमिति चतुर्थे वच्छामः।

यनु संस्तार्थलात् क्रतुगतिहर एवप्रतीतिरिति तन्त्र । क्रतुगत-हिरण्वानुवादिनिश्चये संस्तार्थलिनश्चयः । तिनश्चये च निष्मयोजनस्य संस्तार्थलायोगात् क्रतुगतिहर एवप्रतीतिरिति ऋग्योग्याश्रयात् । न च स्त्रभावतः संस्त्रार्थलमदृष्टार्थलेऽपि धारणाविरोधात् । क्रत्य-प्रत्ययस्तु साध्यतामाचमा इ न तु श्रेषिलम् । ऋतो न क्रल्थं किन्तु पुरुषार्थम् । फलं तु राचिसचन्यायेन स्नाह्यस्य दुर्वर्णलम् ॥

१३ जयादीनां वैदिककर्माङ्गताधिकरणम्। भेषोऽप्रकर्णे रिविभेषात् सर्वकर्मणाम्॥ ३१॥ श्रनारभ्य श्रुतम्, 'येन कर्मणा देखेंत् तत्र जयान् जुड्यात्' दति।

किं सर्वेषां जीकिकवैदिककर्मणां जयादयोऽङ्गं उत वैदिकाना-मेवाइवनीयवतां इति संग्रयः।

तचापि ग्रेषात् क्षषिराजसेवादीनामपि जयादयोऽङ्गम् । तैरपि ह्यर्धितुमिच्छति । यद्यपि क्षव्यादीनामाद्यनीयो नास्ति तथापि जयाद्यनुरोधादाद्यनीयोपि सम्पादनीयः ।

१ 'नियमेनाच' इत्यच 'धारणं वाच' माखदीपिकासमातः पाठः।

२ मास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २०२।

१ अन तन्त्रवात्तिके 'ग्रेषः प्रकर्षे' इत्यादि पाठः।

एवं प्राप्ते जुमः—

"समानदेशता नित्यमिखतेऽङ्गप्रधानयोः।

न च कथादिभिः साकमेषां खान्तु खदेशता १ "॥

कर्षणं हि भ्रमो कियते राजकूले (च) सेवा। जयादयस्वाह्वनीये कर्त्तवाः । तेन वैदेग्याद्देगुष्यं स्थात् ।

नतु चेत्रमेवादवनीयं मीला होष्यते इति चेन्न। एवमपि विलेखनहोमयोर्देशभेदापरिहारात्। न ह्येकैकस्मिन् विदारणखले त्राह्वनीयं निचिष्य होतुं प्रकाते । वैदिनेषु लाह्वनीयादिमत्सु प्रधानसादेग्धं सभ्यत द्रत्यवैगुखान्तचैव जयादयः।

१४ वैदिकाश्वप्रतियह इष्टिकर्त्तव्यताधिकरणम्। दोषात्त्विष्टिलीं किके स्थात् शास्त्राडि वैदिके न दोषः स्यात्॥ ३४॥

तैत्तिरीयाः काम्येष्टिकाण्डे समामनन्ति—'यावतोऽश्वान् प्रति-ग्टह्हीयात्तावतो वाक्णां खतुष्कपाका निर्वपेदि 'ति । सेयं दातु-रिष्टिर्न त प्रतिग्रहीतुरिति वच्छते।

सा किं लौकिके श्रश्वदाने मित्रादिभ्यः खेहादिना विधिमपेच्य क्रियमाणे निमित्ते पुरुषार्थी विधीयते उत वैदिने कर्माङ्गश्दते क्रलर्थतया उतोभयचेति संग्रयः।

तचाविशेषाद्भयचेति प्राप्त उच्चते-कर्मणः फलापेचायां 'स एवेनं वर्णपाशान्यञ्चति दित वान्यशेषात् दोषनिर्घातः फलं निर्णीयते। तेन यत्र दोषस्तत्रेष्टिः। स्त्रोकिके च दोषोऽस्ति। 'न केसरिणो ददाती'ति निषेधात्। वैदिकेषु कर्माङ्गदाने विधि-

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ए० ९९४।

स्पृष्टलान्नास्ति दोषः। तसात् कार्यवणात् खौकिके दृष्टिरिति।
भवेदेवं यदि दोषनिर्घातफलकता स्थात्। दृष्ट तु वरुणग्रहनिर्मीक
एव फललेऽवगम्यते। वरुणपाणान्मुच्चतीति वरुणग्रहो जलोदरपर्यायः। न च खौकिकमश्रदानं जलोदरनिदानिमत्यच मानमस्ति।
प्रतिषेधेन पापमाचकस्पनात्। श्रथ वृणोतीति व्युत्पत्था वरुणग्रब्दः
पापमेव वदेत्। तर्हि वैदिकेऽपि त्यागप्रयुक्तदुःखस्त्रेव वरुणग्रब्दार्थलं सभावति। दृष्ट्यान्तस्तिनोदेन तदुःखग्रमनात् 'स एव
एनं वरुणपाणान्मुच्चती'त्यपुपपद्यते। तस्मान्न खौकिकविषयता।
नाष्युभयच। नैमित्तिकस्य वैदिकलेन तत्सादृग्यादैदिकानेव दानं
ग्रीष्रसुपतिष्ठते। तेन तत्सम्बन्धिक्रत्यपस्थानात् तादर्थ्यावगमे तावनाम्नेण च नैराकाङ्को सित खौकिकस्य ग्रहे फलकस्यनायां च
प्रमाणाभावात्।

किञ्च-

" जो िक के पुरुषार्थलं वैदिके क्रतुग्रेषता । न चैकस्योभयार्थलं वैरूप्यादुपपद्यते । तस्मादेदिक एव स्थात्॥

> १५ दातुर्वारुगीष्ट्यधिकरणम्। अचोदितं च कर्मभेदात्॥ ३६॥

दयमेवेष्टिस्दाहरणं किमियं प्रतिग्रहीतुस्त दातुरिति सन्देहः ।
तत्र विध्युद्देशवलीयस्वात् प्रतिग्रहीतुरिति प्राप्तम् ।
त्रश्वंवादस्तु प्रधानानुरोधेन व्याख्येयः । दातुरिप किल दोषः
किं पुनः प्रतिग्रहीतुरिति ।

१ मास्तदीपिका ए० २०४

सिद्धान्तसु—

" ऋसंजातविरोधिलात् ऋर्यवादो यथा श्रृतः । त्राखेयनदिरुद्धस् विध्देशस्य सचला^र"॥

प्रतिग्रह्मीयादिति प्रतिग्रहकत्त्रींच्यते । श्रस्ति हि दातुर्पि प्रयोजककर्त्तृलम् । एवञ्चार्थवादोऽपि संगच्छते । तत्र हि प्रजा-पितर्वरुणयाश्वमनयदिति प्रजापतिर्दाता संकीर्त्तितः। देवतामार्च्यत्। सः समानविभक्तिनिर्दिष्टः प्रजापतिरेव खां देवतामिति पूर्ववाक्ये सस्प्रदानतया निर्देशादक्णम् । तेन प्रजा-पितरश्वं दला वहण्यहं प्राप्त इत्यर्थः। 'स पर्यदीर्थत स एतं वाहणं चतुष्कपा जमपश्यत् तं निरवपत् ततो वै स वक्षपा शादसुच्यते 'ति सर्वच प्रजापतिरेव दाताऽतुषच्यते। यद्यपि 'श्रुतेर्जाताधिकारः स्यादि'त्यचैवोपन्नमप्रावत्यं निणीतं तथापि च्रगादिग्रन्दा वज्जलं बेदे दृष्टप्रयोगाः। ग्रह्णातिसु दावयापारे न कचिद्दष्टः। तेन नासी तत्परलेन वाखातुं प्रकात इति विशेषाप्रदानिरुत्यर्थमेत-दिधिकरणम्।

भाष्यकारान्तरेसु प्रतिग्रहीतुरेवेष्टिराश्रिता। तन्तु न्याय-विरुद्धम् ॥

१ई वैदिकपानव्यापदिधकरणम्। पानव्यापच तदत्॥ ३८॥

श्रनारभ्य श्रूयते 'सौमेन्द्रं चहं निर्विपेत् यः सोमं वमती'ति। श्रवापि पूर्ववत्संग्रयः—िकं लौिकिके रसायनाद्यं पीते वान्ते पुरुषार्थतया इयमिष्टिरुत वैदिने क्रलर्थतया ऋष वोभयचेति।

१ हतीयचरणे 'वाख्येयसदिरदलात्' रति पाठः शास्त्रदीपिकाकारे र्धतः।

२ मास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २०५।

"तचाविशेषादुभयोर्दीषादा सौिकके भवेत्। दोषो स्वचास्ति वमनात् दृद्धिरिन्द्रियवीर्ययोः ॥

विवा एष इन्द्रियेण वीर्येण वृध्यते इति कीर्त्यमानो दोषो न वक्षणग्रहवदत्यनाविद्यमानः। तेन तत्वंयोगान्नोकिके स्थात् वैदिके तु पानमाचस्य ग्रास्तार्थलात् वमनेऽपि दोषाभावात् प्रायस्थित्त-विधिर्यर्थः। एवं प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

न तावली किने दोषोस्ति वमनार्थमेव पानात्। वेदे तु सम्यग्जरणपर्यान्तमेव पानं प्रास्तार्थः। तच वमनाद्विपद्यते। ऋतो दोषवप्रात् वैदिने स्थात्।

१७ सौमेन्द्रचरोर्यजमानपानव्यापदिषयताधि-करणम्।

तत्सर्वचाविशेषात्॥ ४०॥

सेयमिष्टिः तिं यजमानवमन एव उत ऋत्विग्वमनेऽपौति संग्रयः। श्रविग्रेषात् सर्वचेति प्राप्त उच्यते—्यः सोमं वमति स निर्वपे—दिति यत् ग्रब्दसंयोगादमनयागयोरेकः कर्त्ता गम्यते तस्मात् स्वामिकमेव वमनं निमित्तं न तु ऋत्विग्वमनम् ॥

१८ त्राग्नेयाष्टाकपालचरोर्द्यवदानमाचस्य होत-व्यताधिकरणम्।

सर्वप्रदानं इविषस्तद्रथेत्वात् ॥ ४३॥

दर्भपूर्णमासयोः श्रूयते—'श्राग्नेयोऽष्टाकपाल' दति । तथा जपसुणाति श्रभिघारयति दिईविषोऽवद्यति चतुरवत्तं जुहोति दति।

१ शास्त्रदीपिका, ए० २०६।

तत्र किं सकलस्य पुरोडाग्रस्था इवनीये प्रदानमुत ज्ञवदानमा चं प्रदायान्य च्छेषयितयमिति संग्रयः।

तत्राष्टाकपालग्रव्दखावयवपरले लचणा प्रसङ्गात् श्रुत्या पुरो-डाग्रावययेव देवता सम्बन्धी। तस्रात् सक्बख प्रदानम्। एवञ्चोत्पन्नग्रिष्टं द्वावदानसुपायलेन नेयम्। 'यत् सक्बं जुहोति तद्दिरवदाये'ति। ततञ्चार्थाद्यागस्थाभ्यासः। ग्रेषकार्थ्याणि तु स्विष्टकदादौनि हविरन्तरमाचेप्यन्तौति पूर्वः पद्यः।

सिद्धान्तसु-

"यागः प्रधानमेनेन ज्ञवदानेन साधितः। द्रव्यमस्तीति कलासौ नावृत्तिं प्रतिपद्यते १ ॥

न चेह सोमयागवद्भ्यासमन्तरेणानुपपत्तिः। उत्पत्तिशिष्टं यत्पुरोडाग्रस्थाग्नेयलं तस्थैतावताप्युपपत्तेः यत्ततो ग्रहीतं द्वावदानं त्रग्नये दीयते। श्रग्निदेवत्ययागसाधनता ह्याग्नेयता साधनलं च त्रीहीणां पुरोडाग्रद्वारेव प्रणाखाप्युपपत्नम्। तस्मान्न सर्वप्रदानम्। श्रतोऽस्ति ग्रेषः। तत्रयुक्तलाच्च ग्रेषकार्याणि श्रप्रयोजकानीति भाष्यकाराः।

श्राचार्थ्यास्त्राज्ञः—साचात्साधनतसमावे प्रणाडीमाश्रित्याग्नेयत-समर्थनमयुक्तम्। न च चतुरवत्तं जुहोतीति वाक्यं प्रमाणम्। यचतुरवत्तमिति उपसरणादिवाक्यप्राप्तं चतुरवत्तं दितीयया संस्कार्थ्यत्वेनोद्दिश्य प्रचेपास्थप्रतिपत्तिमाचस्य तेन विधानेऽपि साध-नान्तराविधानात्। तस्मात् पुरोडाश्र एव यागसाधनम्। न च साप्तदश्यवदाग्नेयतं ज्ञवदानमाचे उपसंज्ञियत रति वाच्यम्। साप्तदश्यं हि श्रनारभ्यवादेन सामिधेनीनासुकं न तु क्रत्नाम्।

१ शास्तदीपिका, प्रः २०८।

तत्र क्रत्सस्वस्थस्तद्वारेणानुमानिकः। न च प्रत्यचसम्बन्धे सत्यानु-मानिकः कस्य इति युक्त उपसंहारः। श्रष्टाकपालस्य तु तद्धित-श्रुत्या स्कुटः देवतासम्बन्धः। द्वावदानस्य लानुमानिकः।

श्राह च-

" सामान्यविधिरस्पष्टः संद्वियेत विशेषतः । स्पष्टस्य तु विधेर्नान्येस्पसंहारसभ्यवः "॥

श्रधिकरणन्तु होमविषयम् । तत्र प्रायेण हिवषां होमदर्भना-द्शिमुखा वै देवा' दति चार्थवादात् सकलस्य होम दति प्राप्ते चतुरवत्तं जुहोतीतिवचनात्तावत एव होमः । सकलस्य तु देवता-सम्बन्धस्यागमाचादेवोपपन्नः । एवञ्च ग्रेषकार्य्याष्ट्रिप संगच्छन्ते ।

ननम्यादिभ्यो दत्तं कथं खिष्टकते दीयते त्यक्तस्य पुनः खीकारे भिष्टाचारविरोधादिति चेन्न । प्रत्यच्युत्या श्राचारवाधात् ।

१८ सर्वभेषैः स्विष्टक्षदनुष्ठानाधिकरणम्। अप्रयोजकत्वादेकस्मात् क्रियेरन् भेषस्य गुणभूत-त्वात्॥ ४८॥

श्रेषकार्याणि खिष्टकदादीनि किमेकस्थाद्भविषः कार्याणि जत सर्वेभ्य दति विचारः।

तच प्रेषात् खिष्टकत इति प्रास्त्रार्थस्य सक्तत्कते कतलात् एकस्मादेव कार्याणि न सर्वेभ्य इति प्राप्ते ब्रमः—

भवेदेवं यदि प्रेषगुणकानि प्रधानकर्माण्येतानि खुः। न चैवं किन्तु प्रतिपत्तिक्पाणि। सा च यस्येव न कियते तस्येव प्रति-

१ तन्त्रवात्तिक, ४० १०२०।

पत्तिनियमकोपात् वैगुण्यं स्थात् सर्वेभ्यः । प्रतिपत्तिलं चैषां चतुर्थे वच्छते ।

२० प्राथमिक शेषात् स्विष्ट क्षदनुष्ठानाधिकरणम्। एकसमाचेद्याथाकाम्यविशेषात्॥ ५२॥

क्रला चिन्तेयं यदा एकस्मात् कार्याणि तदा किं यतः कुतिश्चत् उत मुख्यादेव।

तच विशेषाभावादनियसे प्राप्ते ब्रूम:—

मुख्यस्य प्राप्तनिमित्तलात् ग्रेषे स्थापिते तत एव ग्रेषकार्याणा-मुपपत्तिनिमित्तविघाताचेतरेभ्यः ग्रेषस्थापनम् ॥

२१ पुरोडाश्रविभागस्य भक्षार्थताधिकरणम् । भक्षाश्रवणाद्दानश्रच्दः परिक्रये॥ ५४॥

त्राग्नेयं चतुर्धा क्रवेदं ब्रह्मण इत्यादिभिर्थपदेशैर्ऋतिम्धः समर्पयन्ति ।

तत्र किमिदं समर्पणं ऋतिजां यथेष्ठविनियोगार्थं परिक्रयाय उत द्रव्यपतिपत्त्वर्थं भचणायेति संग्रयः।

तच_

"भचखात्रवणात्तावत्ताद्धं नावगम्यते ।
कियत्यपानितितेन भवतीति तदर्थता "॥
एवं प्राप्ते त्रूमः—सकलख हविषो देवताये प्रदत्तलात् त्रनीप्रानो
यजमानः स्विग्भिसुद्धः स कथं परिक्रीणीत श्रस्तामिलात् ।

१ 'वेने'त्यत्र 'ताव'दिति पाटः शास्त्रदीपिकाकारै र्धतः।

२ मास्तदीपिका, ४० २८१।

तसान परिजयः । ग्रेषस्य प्रतिपत्त्यपेचलायोग्यतया च पुरोडाग्रस्य भचणमेव प्रतिपत्तिरिति त्रवगतलात् । कर्त्तृविग्रेषमाचापेचायां ब्रह्माद्यो नियम्यन्ते । तन्त्रियमस्थापि दृष्टमेव प्रयोजनम् । तेषां करित्यमाणप्रयोगकर्मकौग्रलम् । भचणाद्धि सामर्थं न भवतीति तस्मात् भचणार्थोऽयसुपदेश दति सिद्धम् ॥

इति मीमांसाप्रास्त्रसर्वखे हतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

III.—The Yaunas of the Purāṇas and the Last Kushāṇa Emperor in India.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

- 1. $Y\bar{a}un\bar{a}h$ of the Purāṇas ¹ (misspelt as $M\bar{a}un\bar{a}h$), which I took to represent the Kushāṇa title Jauva, ² can be now demonstrated to denote the Kushāṇa dynasty.
- 2. There is an inscription, found at Khura³ in the Salt Range (Punjab) and now deposited in the Lahore Museum, which was inscribed under the reign of a king who, it is strange, has not yet been properly identified, although there have been ample materials for the identification. The king was undoubtedly a Kushāṇa king of the imperial line.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KING.

- 3. Dr. Bühler who edited the inscription in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, p. 238, did not identify the king or his dynasty but 'on paleographical grounds' he held that 'it (the inscription) may be assigned to the fourth or the fifth century' (p. 239). His description of the script is thus—'the characters resemble those found in the older Buddhist nail-headed inscriptions of the Gupta period, but show certain peculiarities'.
- 4. The test letters disclose earlier forms and the whole script brings the record in line with the Mathura inscription in Gupta letters of the year 57 (376 A.D.)⁴ and other early Gupta inscriptions. The record bears an unmistakable affinity with

¹ Vāyu, Pargiter, PT., pp. 46-47, n.s 24, 76.

² J.B.O.R.S., XVI, 287.

³ Khura, not Kura seems to be the name. See ASR., 1927-28, p. 89.

⁴ See E.I., ii; plate facing p. 209, No. 38, also ibid., p. 198.

the inscriptions of the fourth century and on the whole gives the impression that it is a document of the close of the fourth century, not later.

5. The King's name and titles are-

King's name and titles.

- (L. 1) Rājā[ti]rājā-Mahārāja-Toramāṇa Shāhi Jaū..
- (L. 10) Mahārāja-Toramāṇa-Shāh[a]-Jaūvṇaḥ

Bühler did not read one letter between $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ and $r\bar{a}ja$ in line 1, but he considered that the blurred letter might have been 'dhi'. The facsimile, however, shows traces of 'ti,' not 'dhi.' The base of the letter is undoubtedly open, and the general form of the letter is not like 'dh' but like 't' occurring in, e.g., lines 3 and 5 (cf. tārayitā). Shāhi in line 1 is clear. The letter after 'Jau' in line I has become blurred, but the form of 'va' which is round throughout the inscription is clear in line 10. The other member of the ligature is read by Bühler as 'l' (Jaūvlah); it is really half 'n' which may be compared with the form of 'n' occurring several times in line 10. 'l' and 'n' in ligatures are apt to be confused. The form Jaūvnah is genitive, because the preceding words are all in the genitive, and the succeeding words refer to the king's queens, princes and princesses, which necessarily makes the form Jauvnah possessive. Bühler admitted that the form required should be genitive, but owing to his own reading Jaūvlah, he took it to be a mistaken nominative (p. 241, n. 24). The nominative stem was taken as Jauvan from Jauvā, from which Jaūvnah, also * Jauvāņah, *Jaunāh, etc., could arise in India, and the Purānas very likely intended the form 'Yaunāh,' which they do give and which I proposed to amend as Jauvāh. It should be noted here that a secondary form Yavana may well be derived from Jauvan in the fifth, sixth, and later centuries-of which the 'Kilikilā Yavanāh' of the Vishņu Purāņa is probably an illustration.

Jaūvn° or Yaunā is to be traced in the expression Jūnah of Firishta, employed to denote the Kushāṇa king against whom the first Sassanian king marched into the Punjab (V. Smith, E.H.I., 289, n.)



On the reading jaūvnah I may cite the spelling of this word used as a proper-name on a Hun coin. Titles often became, as they do become to-day, proper-names—e.g., Tigīna in Srī Shāhi Tigīna of the Multan coin (Rapson, I.C., p. 31), 'Rājā,' etc., current to-day. The Hun coin is struck with the legend Shāhi Javūvnah 'of king Javūvan'. Here the lettering is clear and the full form of na, with both hooked arms, is drawn. On the analogy of the Khura inscription it was read as Javūvlah (See Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 29, Pl. IV, fig. 10; V. Smith, J.B.A.S., 1894, p. 189), which is a mistake, as la in that period, earlier or later, never has two arms, while na has them.

- 6. Bühler¹ rightly said that this *Toramāṇa* cannot be identified with *Toramāṇa* the Hun of the Eran inscription. On the identification, however, he said, 'all I would say regarding him is that he ruled over north-western India and that he was an independent king.... It is also highly probable that he was not a native Indian. The name Toramāṇa is neither Sanskṛit nor Prākṛit, but in all probability, a foreign one.' ²
- 7. The titles 'Rājātirāja' and 'Shāhi' are regular dynastic titles of the Kushāṇa kings. 'Jauv' is also a Kushāṇa title which is known from the inscription of Kapa and coins. 'Rājātirāja' stands for Shāhānushāhi. 'Mahārāja,' the great king, is also a well-known Kushāṇa form. The official style in the Hun inscription (Fleet, G.I., pp. 158, 161) is entirely different.
- 8. Fortunately regarding this name we have another source which confirms the identification, although, even without it 'Rājātirāja' cum 'Shāhi' was sufficient to establish the identity of the dynasty.

Alberünî (Vol. II., pp. 10-13) says that the dynasty was called $Sh\bar{a}hiyas$ of Kabul who were foreigners. The last king of this dynasty was Laga (or Laka) $T\bar{u}rm\bar{a}n$. As to the identity of the dynasty there can be no room for doubt.

¹ And also Kielhorn, E.I., V, App. p. 72.

² I would add, it may be compared with Rukamāna in Girdharpur pillar inscription. J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 6.

³ Cf. Bühler (E.I., i, 239) who missed the identity.

For Alberūnî places Kanik in this dynasty about whom he gives a monumental reference which proves him to be no other than Kanishka of history. 'One of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the Vihāra (the Buddhist monastery) of Purushāvar. It is called, after him, Kanik-Chaitya' (p. 11). The Kanik-Chaitya at Peshawar fixes the identity of Kanik with Kanishka. The Kanishka-Chaitya and the monastery still existed at the time of Alberūnî as they existed at the time of Vîradeva of Nālandā who had been educated there in the reign of King Deva-Pāla (844-892 A.D).

Alberūnî was not satisfied with the account of the dynastic successions which was given to him, for he expressly notes-'Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of kings. They are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings.' With this caution he records what he had received from some people in his enquiry. He had been told that the pedigree of the royal family written on silk existed in the fortress of Nagarkot (i.e., Kot Kangra) and he wanted to consult it, but unfortunately he could not go to Nagarkot, otherwise to-day we would have been in possession of some important data. All the same, we may take it that we have here a trustworthy record of four facts -(1) that the dynasty of Kanishka was called the 'Shāhi dynasty of Kabul' who were foreigners, regarded as Turks in Alberuni's time, (2) that from the first up to the last, Afghanistan was their centre, (3) that the last king of the dynasty was Toramāṇa, and (4) that the most important king of the line was Kanishka, builder of the Kanishka-Chaitya (excavated by Dr. Spooner in our time). That their rule endured in the Punjab up to the time of the king named Toramāṇa, is evident from this narration. We may ignore the account of the origin of the foundation of the dynasty as a piece of, to put it in the words of Alberuni, 'tale-telling'; and similarly we may also treat the manner of the ending of the dynasty (by a Brahmin minister).2 In the time of Alberuni they were treated in India

¹ Ind. Antiquary, XVII, pp. 307-12. Smith, E.H.I. (1924), p. 277.

² The dynasty of the Hindu Shāhiyas founded by 'the Brahmin'

as a Turushka family—a name commonly employed for Central Asian tribes by the Hindus, and this Alberūnî has naturally rendered as 'Turk'. But his reference to Tibet as the original home of the Shāhiyas is important, for it shows that the Hindus knew them to have come from the other side of the Himalayas (Central Asia). It may be noted here that the Hindus about Alberūnî's time regarded Bactria and Khotan as Himalayan places, in their opinion they being northern counterparts to the Indian side of the Himalayas.¹ The connection with Kabul as the first place of occupation of the Shāhis is true and is based on history.

9. It seems that the Kushānas in the fourth century ruled over Bactria, Kabul, and the Punjab Unity of Kushana from one centre which was either in the dominions. Punjab or in Afghanistan. The Wei-lio 'informs us that during the period of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 221-227) Kipin, Ta-hia, Kabul, and Tien-chu were all subject to the Great Yüechi' (Chavannes' translation). Kipin here is Kapiśā, i.e., the country north of Kabul, on the way to Ta-hia which is Bactria. T'ien-chu is India, at that time only the Punjab. The Chinese description gives a connected terri-This evidently continued to tory, Bactria-Kabul-Punjab. be the case in the time of Chandra Gupta II who finally suppressed the Kushāṇa power. This territorial division explains the phrase on the Mehrauli pillar 'the seven heads of the Sindhu,' equivalent of the Persian Hapta-Hindu, which must include the Kabul valley 2 and which the conqueror, mentioned

Kallar, who adopted the 'Shāhi' ('king') title, came into existence about 875 A.D. The dynasty which existed up to the time of Alberūni was wrongly connected by him with the earlier one, the Kabul Shāhiyas, i.e., the Kushāṇas. See A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 82, for the dates of the Hindu Shāhiyas. Tūrmān to be the last scion of the family of Kanishka, could not have been supplanted by Kallar c. 875 A.D. The chronology of the local Hindus connecting the two Shāhiyas was manifestly wrong. Such mistakes are not uncommon.

¹ See my note on *Tikin* in this issue for *Barhatakîn* ('Takîn of Balkh'), the appellation of the first Kushāṇa king (Alberûnî, II, 10).

² J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 32.

on the Mehrauli pillar, crossed for defeating the Bactrians. In 360 A.D. we do find the Kushāṇa king Grumbates as the king of Kabul fighting the Romans on the side of the Sassanian King, evidently a relation, along with his Indian elephants and the Sakas of Seistan. A generation later Rājātirāja Toramāna, who had an established government in western Punjab -for the inscription is by his Superintendent of Monasteriescomes on the scene. He was either the king described as 'the Saka emperor' in the Devi-Chandraguptam or his next successor. Undoubtedly he was the last king of the line of Kanishka, as he is so expressly described. Alberūnî's 'Laga' is some Śakish word like 'Liaka'. Türmän is said to have had 'bad manners and a worse behaviour' on account of which the people complained of him greatly to the (Brahmin) Vizir. All this reads like the character of the libidinous Śakādhipati of the Devi-Chandra-Guptam. It is said that the Brahmin ultimately occupied the throne. Probably on his defeat or assassination by Chandra-Gupta the province was given by the Gupta Emperor to a Brahmin minister, as Brahmins occupied highest political offices under the Guptas. The scholars in saying that there is no evidence of the Kushana rule in the Punjab in the fourth century have been led to an erroneous conclusion on account of not taking note of the Khura inscription of Toramana. the Shāhi 'emperor' was there in the time of Samudra-Gupta is proved by the Allahabad pillar inscription.2 That he continued to be there up to the time of Chandra-Gupta II and in Afghanistan is proved by the Roman account of Grumbates and the Khura inscription, and I may add, by the Mehrauli pillar as well. The Khura inscription is the last vestige of the Kushāna rule in India.

¹ V. Smith, E.H.I. (1924), p. 290. J.R.A.S., 1897, 908.

² Lines 23-24 indicate that by the submission of the *Daivaputra-Shāhi* Shāhānushāhi-Saka-Muruṇḍas the whole 'country' (not 'the whole world,' see AŚ., C. 122) was 'united' into one in Samudra Gupta and he was rendered 'king of an unobstructed passage' that is, a full territorial Emperor of India (as defined in the Kautilîya, as covering the whole length of India. AŚ., Ch. 122).

IV.—A Passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

1. In the Allahabad pillar inscription, line 24 has a passage:

..... garutmadanka-svavishayabhukti-sāsana-yāchan'--ādy-upāya-sevā-kṛita...

which has been translated by Fleet as

by the acts of respectful service such as (giving) Garuḍa-tokens (surrendering) the enjoyment of their territories, soliciting (his) commands, etc.....'

(p. 14)

- 2. Dr. Fleet took Garutmad-anka to refer to the Gupta coinage (p. 14, n. 3).
- 3. On anka as royal symbol on coins, I may refer to Mānānka and Guṇānka on the Nepal coins of King Māna and King Guṇa (J.R.A.S., 1908, 678-79; Rapson, C.I., 32), and Nānānka of the Kāśikā (p. 304 on Pāṇini IV, 3. 127).²
- 4. But Fleet's translation of the passage misses the real point. The kings who accepted the suzerainty of Samudra Gupta 'begged' (yāchana-upāya) for śāsana for the enjoyment (use) of the Garuḍa coin in their own provinces (sva-vishaya-bhukti).
- 5. Mr. Allan is incorrect when he observes in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins (p. xxv, n. 1) that 'Garutmadanka is not a coin of any kind'. Except for the coins struck on special occasions, e.g., aśvamedha, expedition (battle-axe type with threatening legends), propounding his theory on music disputing that of

¹ For the Garuda figure on Samudra Gupta's coins, see Allan's Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties, p. 1 (Standard type), p. 6 (Archer type), plates I, II, IV. The figure is on a Garudadhvaja.

² I have explained anka and rājānka in my Hindu Polity, i, pp. 42-43.

Tumburu and Nārada (lyrist), the regular types of Samudra Gupta's coinage—Archer and Standard—bear the first mark Garuḍa. Like the Nānāṅka of the Kāśikā meaning the coin bearing NANA or Nanaia (Kushāṇa coin), the Garutmadaṅka means the coin bearing Garuḍa.

- 6. Śāsana here means a charter. Cf. śāsanādhikāra in the Kautilîya, and the word 'śāsana' on the seals of the Vākaṭaka charters (copperplates).¹ Some of those sovereigns or subsovereigns who submitted personally (ātmanivedana) or otherwise, as an act of homage (ādy-upāya-sevā) applied for the use and currency of the imperial coinage in their own dominions. And for this privilege they begged for the imperial charter, śāsana.
- 7. Fleet is wrong in adding 'giving' and 'surrendering' in the translation of the passage. The controlling word is yāchana, 'begging'.
- 8. Amongst the group classed as Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi-Śaka-Murunda, who were three or more according to the plural termination (omurundaih) in the inscription (1. 23), and from whom homage (sevā) in the shape (upāya) of ātmā-nivedana (personal submission), kanyopāyana-dāna, garutmadanka-svavishaya-bhukti-sāsana-yāchana, etc., was received, we find one class who did accept and use the coinage of the Gupta emperor in its territory. The dynasty called Gadahara or Gadakhara on their coins and classed amongst the Later Great Kushāns by V. Smith but by R. D. Banerji amongst the Little Yue-chi, did mint coins with the name and figure of Samudra on the obverse. Mr. R. D. Banerji published a paper (' Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage') on Smith's Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1908, pp. 81-93, to which Dr. Smith referred in his Early History (4th Ed., p. 291 n. 2) as 'corrections' to his own paper. In his paper Mr. Banerji has observed (p. 93):-

'Cunningham has enumerated three types of Gadahara Coinage:

⁽¹⁾ Pereya.... (2) Kirada.... (3) Samudra:—
'The resemblance between this coin and the coin of Samudra Gupta
'No. 10 (Spearman type variety a, Cat. I, p. 102) is so great that it is
'possible to say that the Gadahara tribe at last acknowledged the suze'rainty of the great conqueror and placed his name on their coins.'

¹ Fleet, G.I., pp. 236, 240, and other documents.

This seems to have been continued to the next generation. There are coins inscribed with the dynastic designation Shaka and Shāka, found in the Peshawar District (Banerji, J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 182, n.; 1897, p. 5) of the third and fourth centuries A.D. (V. Smith, C.I.M., p. 88). There are also the allied and contemporary coins of the Shafor, Pallada title (C.I.M., pp. 88-89, J.A.S.B., 1908, p. 89). Either they belonged to the family of the Kushānas or were subordinate rulers under them. Both these Shakas and the Shaladas adopted the Imperial Kushāna coinage. The coin (No. 13356, at p. 65 of Rodgers' Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Part III, plate III) is evidently a Shalada coin. Rodgers read the legend as and rightly described it as 'allied to Gupta coins'. The figure is Hindu and of Chandra Gupta. The word Chandra is inscribed by the effigy as on Gupta coins. We clearly get one Śaka or Shāka dynasty at Peshawar, apart from one in the Western Satraps. On the coin of Pa. Shāka (J.B.A.S., 1897, p. 5: C.I.M., p. 89) we have 'Shalada' or 'Plada'. It seems that the Shaladas, who have few coins, were identical with the Shakas.1

The Shalada-Shakas seem to have adopted the Gupta coinage like the Gadaharas.

The Gaḍahara ruler who adopted Samudra Gupta's name and figure on his coin belonged to the Little Yü-chi clan, allied to the Great Yü-chi or the Imperial Kushāṇas. The Gaḍaharas have on their coins kshuṇa and so have the Kidāra-Kushāṇas who put down on their coins Kida, and Kasha, as abbreviations (J.B.A.S., 1908, p. 92). The word Kshuṇa (cf. Prakrit Kshulla), in my opinion, represents 'Little', a translation of the original which was rendered by the Chinese as 'Little' Yü-chi. Gaḍahara or Gaḍakhara (with kshuṇa) seems to stand for Little Yü-ti. There seems to be an abbreviation

¹ The former numismatic view was that these princes were 'Later Great Kushāṇs', but owing to the differing theories on the Kushāṇa origins, they have been kept separate. I have no doubt that they are Kushāṇa.

of Shaka (as Sha.) after 'Gadahara' on the coin of Peraya (J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 4).

Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi representing the Imperial Kushāna, 'the Daivaputra-Shāhi-emperor' (probably distinguishing him from the Sassanian emperor), 'the Saka lords' (Śaka-murundāh) were the smaller Śaka rulers like the Shalada Shāka, the Gadahara and the Western Satrap. The latter was confined to Kachh and Lower Sindh. The Abhīras, the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas who came under Samudra Gupta reduce the Western Satrap to a narrow strip as indicated. The Abhiras represented Kathiawad-Gujerat. There was no room for the Western Satrap to reach Malwa which was under autonomous communities and not under the Satrap. Kachh to Sindh, Baluchistan, Sīstan and Gandhāra, Kashmir. Afghanistan and Bactria—all a connected territory—was under the Shāhānushāhi along with his subordinates. In the Punjab they were bounded by the Madrakas and the Yaudheyas backed by the direct rule of the Gupta emperor. Only the valley of the Indus and part of the Chenab were under the Kushana 'emperor'. Gandhāra and Kashmir' seem to have been under his relations with ruling powers, who never describe themselves as kings on their coins. The acceptance of the Gupta currency by the Gandhara Sakas transferred them from the Shāhānushāhi to the Gupta emperor.

- 9. Samudra Gupta was very particular about his imperial coinage. The Ārjunāyanas, the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, and the Nāga kings all cease minting their coins in his reign. He allowed the privilege of possessing their own mints to the Gandhāra Śakas and the Little Yü-chi rulers but instead of their coins wearing any Kushāṇa imperial signs they had to bear the Imperial Gupta marks.²
- 10. It seems that for the Indian possessions under his direct rule the Shāhānushāhi rendered personal submission,

¹ Cf. चिन्तुतट-दार्वीकोवी-चन्द्रभागा-काम्मीर-विषयान् ब्रात्या खेच्छादयः भ्राद्धाः भोच्यन्ति—Vishnu Purāṇa, which corresponds to the Bhāgavata which adds Kaunti (Kachh). The Purāṇic data here refer to the Early Gupta Period.

² The Western Satrap seems to have retained his coinage.

confirming it by some marriage alliance (giving of $kany\bar{a}$). Samudra Gupta thus completed his empire up to the natural frontiers of India, as described in the Mānavadharmaśāstra.

11. The legends on the *Garutmadańka* coins of Samudra Gupta (the Standard and the Archer types) show that they were the normal coins, settled upon in and for peace times when he could count and give the number of the battles fought for making the empire or, to quote his own words, for uniting the whole country ['dharaṇ-bandhasya'].

V.-The Kākas-their Location.

The Kākas, an autonomous community mentioned in Samudra Gupta's inscription on the Allahabad pillar (line 22; Fleet, G.I, pp. 8, 14) have remained unidentified. They are placed in the inscription next to the Sanakānîkas. At Udayagiri, we have in the inscription of the year 82 (Gupta Era) a Sanakānika governor, evidently hereditary, with the title of Mahārāja extending over three generations. He is taken by Fleet to be the local feudatory ruler. The Kākas and Sanakānîkas are placed as neighbours by V. Smith in his map of the Gupta Empire [E.H.I.], though his location could not be accurate.

It is evident that the two political communities mentioned above were in Eastern Malwa. The Sanakānîkas must have been near Bhilsa. The Sanakānîka Mahārāja excavated the cave-temple called Chandra Gupta Temple and the Varāha panel sculptures and other sculptures at the cave. As to their exact home we have yet no information. But regarding the Kākas we seem to be on firmer grounds.

In Eastern Malwa we have two place-names of ancient character bearing on the Kākas. One is the name of the hill now called Sanchi hill. Its name in the inscriptions on the site is Kāka-nāda (F.G.I., p. 31). It means 'the Praise of the Kākas'. Still more important is the large and ancient village called $K \bar{a} ka - pur$, some 20 miles north of Bhilsa, hitherto unnoticed. I found this place on my journey from Eran to Bhilsa by the new metalled road of the Gwalior State running from Isagarh via Sironj to Bhilsa, which was under construction when I passed on it last December. situated on a river, and a hill opposite the village by the road has two square temples and a few Gupta sculptures. A large number of pillars and Sati memorials cover the plain in front of the temple-hill. Mediæval inscriptions are also in evidence. They with the temples testify to the continued importance of the place from the Gupta to the Mediæval period.

I propose to identify Kākapur as the ancient seat of the Kākas. There were two routes from Bundelkhand to Bhilsa or its ancient representative Vidišā, one was via Rāhatgarh (Dist. Sagar) and Gyaraspur and the other via Eran and Kākapur. On both these routes I have travelled; both are strewn with ancient monuments.

K. P. J.

VI.—An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District.

By Sudhakar Patnaik, B.A.

Of the limited few copperplates and other inscriptions in the Oriya language and character so far discovered no less than two belong to the Sambalpur District. And the one under notice is one of them, the other being the inscription on the temple of Narsingnāth in the Gandhamārdan mount in the Borāsambar Zemindary of that district.

The inscription under notice is a deed of gift of village Baragarh in the Subdivision of that name in the district of Sambalpur granted muafi-rent free, during the Hindu period by Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh, the last Rājāh of Sambalpur, to Nārāyan Dās and Krushna Dās, two brothers, who were the gountiās (village headmen in Sambalpur having the status of a semi-landlord) of Baragarh village in recognition of the services rendered to the state by them as well as by their father Bāluki Dās who (Bāluki Dās) was assassinated while serving the raj, by the rebels in the Gond rising during the reign of Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh.

This copperplate is the property of Babu Mitrabhānu Dās, one of the descendants of the donees, now residing at villages Baragarh and Tālsrigirā. The size of the plate is $7\frac{3}{4}" \times 5\frac{1}{4}"$. At the middle of the top side there is a projection having a hole in it for letting in a string for purposes of hanging. The plate has been so inscribed that the top side of the obverse is the foot side of the reverse. The inscription consists of 25 lines, 16 on the obverse and 9 on the reverse, and each letter is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " square. The deed commences with a wheel 1 at the top.

The plate is clearly dated. It was granted on a third day of the week, i.e., on a Tuesday which was a Saptami in the bright fortnight in the month of Mārgasir, in the Sambat year

¹ Sign Purnokumbho.

of 1901. Bikram Sambat has general currency in Sambalpur and hence the gift was obviously made some time in November-December ¹ in the year 1844 A.D. This is also corroborated by the Sambalpur Gazetteer according to which Mahārāj Nārāyan Singh reigned in Sambalpur from 1833 to 1849.

As already said the village of Baragarh was granted to brothers Nārāyan Dās and Krushna Dās in recognition of the services rendered to the state by themselves and their father Bāluki Dās. The following is a short account of the family and of the Gond rising in which Bāluki Dās was killed by the Gonds.

One Mādhab Dās of Kausik Gotra, originally a resident of Srīrāmchandrapur Sāson near Puri, emigrated to Binkā which was then as now a flourishing town in the Sonepur State. His eldest son Sambhu Dās shifted from Binkā to village Kalāpāni near Baragarh in Sambalpur. Bāluki Dās was the only issue of Sambhu Dās. Mahārāj Sāi was then reigning in Sambalpur. Bāluki Dās, it is said, was a very strong man with an imposing appearance. About this time the Mahrattas used to make frequent raids on Sambalpur and during one such raids they caught hold of Bāluki Dās as he offered resistance to them and removed him to the district of Chandá in C.P. and employed him as a keeper of buffaloes. Some years after when the Mahratta power was waning Bāluki Dās managed to run away to Sambalpur with about 1,000 buffaloes of which he made a gift to the Rājāh. He was in return granted a small village named Malmandá. About this time in 1827 Mahārāj Sāi died and there was trouble in the state. Some time after Mahārāj Nārāvan Singh ascended to the throne of Sambalpur and it is said Bāluki Dās had no small hand in the matter. However

¹ Possibly 17th December. Although it appears saptami had already expired on the previous day, I hold it to be the 17th because it is generally found that among the calendars (Panjikas) current in this part prepared by local astronomers from year to year no two agree in their calculations. And so I hold according to the Panjika used it was, rightly or wrongly, saptami on the 17th December, 1844 A.D. This is all the more strengthened by the fact that although a Tithi (faft) might be wrong depending as it does on the calculations of an astronomer, the man in the street even, cannot commit a mistake as to the simple fact of the day of the week, 17th December, 1844, being Tuesday.

Surendra Sāi and other pretenders continued to create troubles by instigating the Gonds and Binjhāls and other aboriginals. Bāluki Dās was however of great help to Nārāyan Singh at this time in trying to quell the rebellion. Bāluki Dās had then retained a force of 300 at his own cost. He assassinated the influential Gond Chief of Páhár Śrigirá and built a high Machān at village Katápáli which was called the Gondamārdan Bhádi (a machan to suppress the Gonds). As reward for services rendered to the state he was granted by the Rajah of Sambalpur 96 Gond villages one after another, such as Bárapali, Tálsrigirá, Torá, Kolundá, Degán, Bichhuán, and others. About this time one night the Gonds made a sudden attack on the house of Bāluki Dās at village Torá, burnt it and assassinated him there. Village Baragarh was then granted by the Rajah to the two sons of Bāluki Dās as already said.

As to the then condition of the state we get the following authentic account from the Sambalpur Gazetteer.—

'Maharaj Sai died in 1827 and his widow Rani Mohan Kumari was allowed to succeed. Disturbances immediately broke out, and for some years there was constant internecine strife between the recognised ruler and the pretenders to the Chiefship. The most prominent of the latter was Surendra Sai. who claimed Chiefship as being descended from Madhukar Sai, the fourth Rajah of Sambalpur. He was readily supported by the discontented Gond and Binjhal Zemindars who found their privilege threatened and their lands encroached on by Hindu favourities of the Rani. Villages were plundered to within a few miles of Sambalpur and though Lieutenant Higgins, with a body of Ramgarh battalion which was stationed within the fort drove off the insurgents matters became so serious that it became necessary to march a force from Hazaribagh to put an end to the disturbances. This force was commanded by Captain Wilkinson, who after hanging several of the rebels, came to the conclusion that there would be endless troubles so long as the Rani remained in power. He accordingly deposed her and set up Narayan Singh, a descendant of Bikram Singh, the eldest son of Rajah Baliar Singh, who had hitherto been considered not qualified to hold the Raj owing to his mother being of inferior caste. * * * * *

* * * Mohan Kumari was sent off to Cuttack, the Government troops were withdrawn and Narayan Singh was left to manage his newly acquired principality as well as he could.

Rebellion broke out at once, the Gonds rising under Balabhadra Dáo, a Gond Zemindar of Lakhanpur, and it was a long time before the rebellion could be put down as the insurgents always found shelter in the vast range of hills known as the Bárapáhár. Balabhadra Dáo, was, however, at last slain at Debrigarh, the highest point of the hills and a noted rebel stronghold. An even more serious disturbance followed in 1839 chiefly due to Surendra Sai, who looked upon Narayan Singh as an usurper, and as already mentioned, claimed the throne on the ground of his descent from the fourth Rajah of Sambalpur. In 1840, he and his brother Udwant Sai, with their uncle Balaram Singh, murdered in cold blood the son and father of Daryao Singh, Zemindar of Rampur. Upon this the three were arrested, and sent to the Jail at Hazaribagh as life prisoner.

Narayan Singh died in 1849, and his widow Rani Mukhyapan Devi, assumed the reins of Government but as he had died without male issues, the country was annexed by the British. This decision was taken in pursuance of Lord Dalhousie's well-known doctrine of Lapse, but the case of Sambalpur was different from that of other states, for no adoption had ever been proposed, and the last Rajah had during his life time expressly intimated his wish that the British Government should take possession of his principality and provide for his Ranis.' (Sambalpur Gazetteer, pp. 26–28.)

Some further information is obtained from the accounts of Lieutenant Kittoe of his journey through the forests of Orissa published in J.A.S.B., May, 1839, as quoted below:—

'The town of Sambalpur extends for upwards of 2 miles along the proper left bank of the river (The Mahanadi); of this space the fort occupies about 3 quarters of a mile. It is fast falling to ruin, the Rajah no longer resides in the old Noor (citadel, palace), which is occupied by some of his officers;

there is a miserable garrison of a few ragamuffins dressed as sepahis and some 20 or 30 sowars whose steeds are like The walls are in a very dilapidated pharaoh's lean kine. state, having suffered much from the effect of the extraordinary The bamboo thicket which was cut down flood of 1836. during the time the territory was in our possession used to act as a breakwater and protected the walls which are very ill-constructed of unhewn stones. The ditch and swamp which defended the other three faces, are in a great measure filled up and over-grown with weeds and must render that quarter of the town very unhealthy. There is no appearance of any trade being carried on, nor is there so much as the site of such a large and populous place would lead you to suppose. Merchants concentrate here from Cuttack, Budree (Boad?) Nagpur, Bhopal, Chhattisgarh, Sirgooja, and barter their goods. of the lower provinces bringing salt, cocoanuts, cotton, cloth, spices, brass utensils, etc., exchanging the same with those of the country for wheat, gram, lac and cotton. Gold in small lumps is also taken in payment and occasionally diamonds. The only produce of the province employed consists of oil seeds, cotton, and rice which are taken by bullocks and (during rains) sent by water to the Mogulbandi of Orissa'.

'Lieutenant Kittoe adds an instructive instance of the methods of justice, saying "I was somewhat surprised one morning while taking my ride to see three human heads stuck on a pole at the junction of two roads near the town; their owner having forfeited them for treason though not without a protracted and severe struggle". As he visited Sambalpur in May, 1838, these heads had been exposed for 4 months.' (Sambalpur Gazetteer, p. 29.)

At such a time it was no wonder that Bāluki Dās killed the rebel Zemindar of Páhár Śrigirá or that he himself was slain by them.

The grant has by now been half resumed and will in course of time be fully resumed.

I now give below the full text of the grant:—

Obverse.



- 1. खत्तौ श्रीमा¹हाराज(ा)धिराज श्रीश्रीमा¹हाराजा
- 2. श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीशीनाराएण सिङ्घ देव श्रीमा 1
- 3. हाराजाङ्गर ॥ नाराएण दास गउटी
- 4. बाबो क्रमा दास गउटीचा मध्य दूइ
- 5. भाईक्ष । सिरकटा तस्वा पटा पचदि
- 6. बागला की तुम्मे इनूरर खैरखा
- 7. ही नेवनामि खिजीमती हरिएकल
- 8. उरे वनाइवाहकरि को तुम्मर वा
- 9. प वाल्टकी दास मध्य इनुरर नीम
- 10. करे सिरकाटे जीवास्करि तुमा
- 11. क वमदे नजर मीउने वड़गड़
- 12. रकतपटा करि खेइरात दीखाग
- 13. ला॥ यो तुम्भकु इकुम दीया जाउकि की
- 14. तुमी ए गां खो वजार मालगुजार
- 15. कर कडडी सजल स्थल नीधिनी
- 16. खात काष्ठ पासाग ग्रन्थ मान्न का

Reverse.

- 17. या उपकाया सञ्चीते खासीमान्त क
- 18. रि जावत्त² चन्द्रकेरे भस्मान्तिके
- 19. तावत्त³ ग्रासन हती प्रमागरे भी
- 20. म करिव ॥ श्रीसरकारर खैरखा
- 21. ने क खिजमतरे पुत्त दरपुत्तरे ज्ञाज
- 22. र थिव ॥ खदत्तं परदत्तं वा जो हरे वै वसु
- 23. स्था। सिखवर्श सच्छाणि वीष्टा
- 24. यां जायते क्रमी ल्ट ॥ मीती मार्गश्री
- 25. मु ७।३ वार स्मत १६०१ साल । सही

Translation.

May Mahārājādhirāj Nārāyan Singh Dev reign in peace. The Mouza of Baragarh is granted rent-free by Raktapatā to Nārāyan Dās and his brother Krushna Dās Gountiās on account of the various services rendered by you (the donees) to the state and on account of your father Bāluki Dās having been beheaded while also rendering such service, by this Sirakatā (beheadment) copperplate grant with the direction that you will enjoy the rent together with all other kinds of usufruct of this village consisting of produce from land, from water, from mines, from forests, from fishery and so on, so long as there exist the Sun and the Moon and so long as (the world is not) turned into ashes, by the strength of this grant and you for generations will remain loyal.

Whoever takes away from a donee some lands gifted by himself or by somebody else is doomed to be born as a worm in the stool for sixty thousand years.

The 3rd day of the week (Tuesday), the 7th day of the bright fortnight in the Sambat year 1901. Signed.

NOTES.

- 1-5. विरक्टा तस्त्रापटा—Copperplate granted on account of the beheadment (of the father of the dones).
- 1-12. ব্যৱস্থা কৰি—Besmearing the deed of gift with the blood (of the father of the donees)? In return for the blood of the father of the donees? or written with the blood (of the father of the donees).

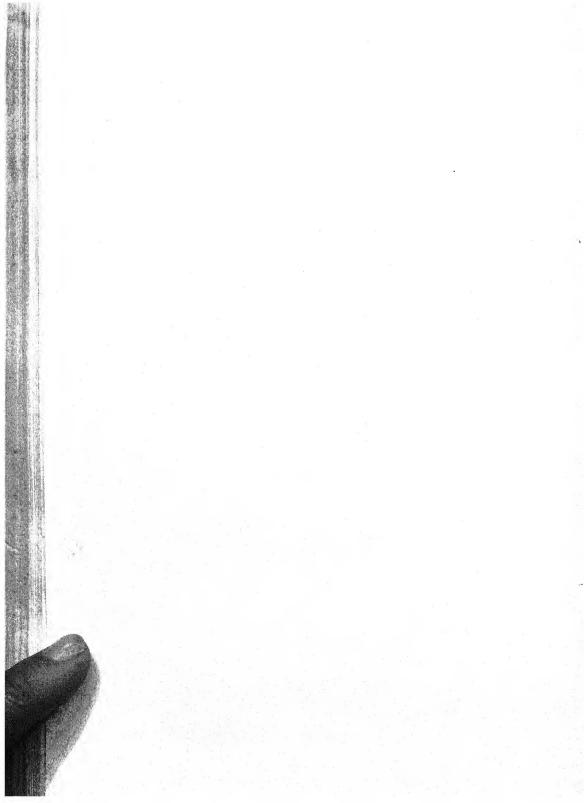
From the inscription it will appear that although Sambalpur is situated on the border of the Hindi-speaking Central Provinces, the Oriya language and script had a strong hold there from a very remote period. It will appear such letters as भी, क, इ, ज have been incised in what is known as the Karani script of the Oriya alphabets. The language and phraseology of the deed are also peculiar to Oriya, and also the use of the letter wat the end of the text.



AN ORIYA COPPER PLATE OF THE SAMBALPUR
DISTRICT.



AN ORIXA COPPER PLATE OF THE SAMBALPUR DISTRICT.



There are a number of spelling mistakes as would naturally be the case. There is very little difference in the shape of पाकार and दीवंदबार both having been incised almost similar to the present day यपना in Oriya which is the common form of these mátrás (पाकार and दीवंदबार), more particularly of पाकार, as used even to-day by the old orthodox school of Oriya Scribes while writing on a palm leaf with the iron lekhani and although from the appearance one may at the first sight mistake them for पदना they are not actually that.

VII.—Note on an Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur District.

By G. Ramadas, B.A.

The language of the grant is Oriya; but the verse ll. 22-24 is Sanskrit; and the following are Urdu ll. 6 and 9 छजूर; l. 6 खेरखाही; नेतनामि; खिजीमतीहार्; l. 11 वमहे नजर्; मजजे; l. 12 खेरखा; l. 13 छकुम्; l. 20 सर्कार्; रखेरखा; l. 21 नेक्खिजीमत्; पुस्तदरपुस्तरे हाजर.

Orthography:—The letters are all modern Oriya; but the following are Korni Characters:— π and π and π all through. The long 'ā' is represented by a vertical line all through; but in 1. 23 π and π is represented by a vertical line all through; but in 1. 23 π and π in combination with a consonant. The other mistakes are corrected by means of footnotes to the text.

The date of the grant is given in ll. 24-25 as मिति मार्गेशी ग्र भार स्मत १६०१ पाल । i.e., Tuesday, the 7th tithi of the bright half of Margasira in the Samvat year 1901. This date when verified comes to this.

The 7th tithi of the bright half of Margaśira of the Samvat year 1901 fell on 15th December, 1844 A.D., but it was Monday and the tithi ended at 34 gh, 12 v. gh (Lanka time) after Sunrise. The same tithi of the same month of the Samvat year 1900 fell on 28th November, 1843 A.D., and it was Tuesday and the tithi ended at 23 gh, 24 v. gh (Lanka time) after Sunrise. Perhaps the Samvat year given in the grant was meant for the current year.

The top sign, perhaps the crest of the family.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1. खिल्ल[॥] श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीमहाराजा
- 2. श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्री नारायणसङ्घ देव श्रीमा-
- 3. हाराजक्रर ॥ नारार्यदास गाउछ

- 4. बाबो क्रमादास गउछा बामध्य दुइ
- 5. भाइङ्ग । सिरकञ्च तन्नापञ्चपत्र दि-
- 6. खागला कि तुम्भे हजूरर खैरखा-
- 7. ही नेजनामि खिनीमतिहर एकल
- 8. उरे वजाइबारकरि उ तुमार बा-
- 9. प बालितदास मध्य इन्हर नीम-
- 10. करे सिरकाटे जीवारकरि तुमा
- 11. ङ्वा वसदेनजर मोउजे बड़गड़
- 12. रत्तपश्चकरि खद्ररात दिखाग-
- 13. ला॥ यो तुम्भवु ज्ञनम दिष्या जाउच्छि कि
- 14. तुम्मे ए गाँ चो बनारमाला गुनार
- 15. कर कउड़ी[॥*] सजलस्थलनिधिनि
- 16. खात काष्ट्रपाषाण गच्छ माच्छ्या-

Reverse.

- 17. या उपकाया सिंहते खासीमान्त क-
- 18. रि जावत्त चन्द्रार्करे भस्मान्तिके
- 19. तावत्त शासन वत्तीप्रमाणरे भो-
- 20. ग करिव ॥ खदत्तं परदत्तं वा जोहरे वे वसु
- 21. न्यरा सिंखवर्भी सहस्राणि वीष्टा
- 22. यां जायते क्रमीः ॥ मीती मार्गश्री
- 23. यु ७।३ बार स्मत १६०१ साल ॥ सन्दी

Translation.

ll. 1-3. Hail! The assent (l. 25 Sahī) of Sri, Sri, Mahārājādhirāja Sri, Sri, Maharaja Sri Sri Sri Sri Nārāyana Singha Deva, Mahārāja. (ll. 3-6), the deed written on copperplate (in acknowledgment) of giving the head is given to the two brothers Narayanadas Gautya and Krishnadas Gautya. (ll. 6-8), you have been dependent on (चेरवारी), faithful (नेकनाम), (and) dutiful (विजीयत्हार्) to the state (वज्र्); you struck

(the enemy) on the chest. (ll. 8-13), and your father Bālukidas too, being faithful to the state gave up his life by having his head cut off (by the enemy). (So) to you is given the bloody deed (रसपटा) (for) Bodogodo belonging to the region already in your enjoyment. We now give this permission (इसम). (ll. 14-15) you may collect fees from this village and its market.

- ll. 15-20. You shall enjoy, on the authority of this gift (शायनश्रती प्रमाण) the whole land including the water and land, mines and wells, timber and stone, trees and fish, shade and shadow within the boundaries, until the moon and the sun are turned to ashes.
- 11. 20-22. You fool! whoever robs his own or other's gift of land shall be born as a worm in the muck for six thousand years.
- ll. 22-23. Date (बीती) Margasira su. 7, 3rd (day of the) week, the Samvat year 1901.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.-A Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'.

Tikina. On this title (J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 4) the title $Sh\bar{a}hi\text{-}Tigina$ on the coin given by Cunningham in A.S.R., Vol. V, plate XXXVII, and his opinion connecting it with the $Tag\bar{\imath}na$ in the names of the Slave Kings and the meaning 'valiant' (A.S.R., V. 121-122) may be consulted. See also $Barhatak\bar{\imath}n$, the Kabul name of Kanishka's ancestor (Alberuni, II, 10). $Barha\text{-}Tak\bar{\imath}n$ means the Takin (Ruler) of Varha (Parthian pronunciation of Balkh, Baetria).

Khasa. Khasa in Khasâdhipati in the verse cited by Rājašēkhara (J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 20) might have referred to the fact that the ruler intended was the ruler of or arising from Kashgarh (Central Asia), a description of the Kushāṇas.

K. P. J.

II.—Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

(b. 6th December, 1852-d. 17th November, 1931.)

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri, one of our honorary members and one of the practical founders of our Society, will be long remembered as the founder of a school of Indologists in Eastern India. I give below a biography of that great scholar.

When the Rajas of Naldanga in Jessore were rising to a leading position in Bengal, they selected Rājendra Vidyālankāra as their Sabhā Pandit in preference to such eminent men as Vasudeva Sārvabhauma, Raghunandana, Vidyānivāsa, and others who were the Raja's next of kin. In the family of Rājendra Vidyālankāra was born Mānikya Chandra Tarkabhūsana who was fourth in descent. He settled at Naihati about 1760 A.D. and soon became a rival of Jagannātha Tarkapañchānana whose influence with the East India Company and the Rajas of the time was very great. Mānikya Chandra's opinion on matters of Hindu Law were treated with great respect by Sir William Jones, the Sanskritist Judge of the Supreme Court. Māṇikya's grandson Rāmakamala Nyāyaratna was one of the foremost Naiyāyikas of his time. Mr. Ramaprasad Roy, the first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court and son of Raja Rammohan Roy, describes the family of Rāmakamala in the following terms: 'Nearly half the celebrities of the land are disciples of this family and no congregation of Pandits is said to be complete without the presence of his (Nanda Kumar Nyāyachunchu's) father', [i.e., Rāmakamala Nyāyaratna, the father of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri]. It is said that for sixteen generations an unbroken tradition of high Sanskrit scholarship was maintained in this family, most of them being professors of Navyanyāya'.

In this family Haraprasad was born on 6th December, 1852, and from his very childhood showed promise. In the beginning he was sent to a Tol near by. With a view to learn English he came to Calcutta and sought the help of $\bar{1}$ svara Chandra Vidyāsāgara. Pandit $\bar{1}$ svara Chandra was struck by the intelligence of young Haraprasad and made all arrangements for giving him education. His pecuniary help was subsequently found to be unnecessary as Haraprasad was able to obtain enough for himself by way of scholarships. He passed all his examinations of the Calcutta University with great distinction up to his M.A. degree, winning the title of $\dot{S}\bar{a}str\hat{\imath}$.

In February, 1878, he entered Government Service as Head Pandit of the Hare School. In September of the same year, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Canning College, Lucknow, where he served for thirteen months. In January, 1883, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit Literature in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. In September of the same year, he was transferred to the Bengali Translators' Office as Assistant Translator. In January, 1886, he was appointed Librarian of the Bengal Library, an office which he held for eight years; his annual reports were highly appreciated by Sir Alfred Croft, the then Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. In February, 1894, his services were transferred to the Presidency College, Calcutta, as Senior Professor of Sanskrit. December, 1900, he was appointed Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Registrar of Sanskrit Examinations in Bengal. He retired from Government Service in November, 1908. But Government put him on the day of his retirement in charge of a Bureau of Information for the benefit of Civil Officers in Bengal, in history, religion, customs and folklore, an office which he held till the last day of his life. In 1922, when the Dacca University started working, Shastri was invited to organise the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali. He remained there as Professor for three years and during this period in addition to his ordinary duties read many original papers and gave an impetus to the students of East Bengal to carry on original research. He was honoured there by an honorary degree of doctorate.

Shastri had been a great factor in the rise of modern scholarship in Calcutta. The famous R. D. Banerji, Mr. Nilmani

Chakravarti, Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, and a number of notable scholars have been his direct contribution to the cause of Indology.

In 1903, he was appointed a member of a Commission to report on the Bodh Gaya Temple dispute along with Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra; the report submitted elicited highest encomium from the then Lieutenant Governor Mr. J. A. Bourdillon who called it 'a monument of learning, assiduity, and impartiality'. In 1911, Shastri was appointed a member of the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla to which he submitted many notes, most of which were accepted by the Conference. It was there that he advocated knowledge of English in Sanskrit scholars. He often used to tell me: 'English (i.e., modern knowledge) makes a scholar awake, while Sanskrit alone makes one blind'. In 1908, Shastri with Professor A. A. Macdonell of Oxford collected rare Vedic manuscripts for the Max Muller Memorial at Oxford. He also collected nearly 7,000 MSS. which the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal presented to the Bodlein Library at Oxford. Lord Curzon in an autograph letter thanked him thus: 'I should like both as a former Viceroy and Chancellor of the University to send you a most sincere line of thanks for the great service which your erudition, good will, and indefatigable exertion have enabled you to render to us'.

In 1912, Shastri at the request of Sir John Marshall purchased for the Archæological Department a collection of MSS., which after an examination of three years proved to be one of the largest, containing nearly twelve thousand manuscripts. The Vedic MSS. in this Collection are very valuable.

 Babu Haraprasad Śāstri, M.A., offered his co-operation and translated the abstract of 16 of the large works. His initials have been attached to the names of those works in the table of contents. I feel deeply obliged to him for the timely aid he rendered me and tender him my cordial acknowledgments for it. His thorough mastery of the Sanskrit language and knowledge of European literature fully qualified him for the task and he did his work to my entire satisfaction.'

In 1885, Shastri was elected a member of the Asiatic Society; he was at once put on the Philological Committee and was placed in charge of the Bibliotheca Indica Publications. He held this office for 22 years and had to revise the last proofs of all non-resident editors. He left it in 1906 when he was appointed Vice-President of the Society for life. Shastri was elected President of the Asiatic Society in 1920 and thus realised his ambition of occupying the Chair once adorned by the illustrious Sir William Jones, the Founder of that Society.

In July, 1891, on the death of Raja Rajendralal Mitra he was made the Director of the operations in search of Sanskrit MSS., an appointment which he held till the end of his life. In this capacity he collected 8,000 select MSS., submitted six long and learned reports and published eight volumes of Notices of Sanskrit MSS., two of which contain catalogues of Palm-leaf and Paper MSS. in the Durbar Library, Nepal. His reports and notices have always been well received by Oriental scholars of Europe and India and they have been and will be often referred to by scholars. After his retirement from Government Service the Council of the Asiatic Society requested him to undertake a Descriptive Catalogue of the entire collection consisting of 11,000 MSS. The collection was catalogued by him, and the publication of the Catalogue kept him busy till his death. could publish six sumptuous volumes on Buddhist, Vedic, Smriti, History and Geography, Vyākarana and Alankāra and Purana MSS. before his death. The seventh volume dealing with Sāhitya MSS. was also in print in November, 1931, and at the time of his death he was engaged in writing an exhaustive introduction to this volume. It appears from his Introduction to the 6th volume that he could foresee that his end was near and that he would not live to complete the subsequent volumes, a fear he mentioned to me when I saw him last some months before his death.

In 1909, the Council of the Asiatic Society asked him to undertake on behalf of the Government of India to report on the Bardic MSS. in Rajputana and to formulate a practical scheme for their collection and preservation. This work took four years during which he submitted four annual progress reports, which contain many new and interesting discoveries in the political, social, religious and literary history of Rajputana. In his capacity as the officer in charge of the operations in search of Sanskrit and Bardic MSS. he had to make long tours in Rajputana, Malwa, Nepal, Orissa, Benares and Bihar.

Shastri was a good writer of Bengali. While he was in the B.A. Class the Maharaja of Indore paid a visit to the Sanskrit College and offered a prize to the best writer of an essay on the highest ideal of woman's character as set forth in ancient Sanskrit writers, in Bengali. The prize was won by Haraprasad, his essay is still regarded as a standard work on the subject. 'Bhārata Mahilā' attracted the attention of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and he published it in his magazine the Vangadarśana.

His most interesting work in Bengali is the Vālmīkir Jaya or the 'Triumph of Valmiki', a poem in prose, the central idea of which is the triumph of moral over physical and intellectual power. Regarding its author, Bankim Chandra has said: 'The course of imagination of this young writer is like the strides of a proud and haughty lion'. On an English translation of this work the Shakespearean critic, Professor Dowden remarked: 'It will extend the horizon of Western imagination'.

Another work published in the Vangadarśana is the Kāñchanamālā, a historical novel dealing with the reign of Aśoka, which when it appeared in the Vangadarśana Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitra took to be the best work of Bankim Chandra, as the author's name was not attached to it. His next Bengali work is Bhāratavarṣher Itihāsa which for the first time contained a connected and comprehensive historical account of the Hindu Period. He also prepared an edition of the Kīrtilatā of

Vidyāpati. He wrote regularly in the Nārāyaṇa, a Bengali magazine, in which he published his criticisms on Kālidāsa and popular articles on Buddhism.

The most remarkable contribution towards the study of Bengali literature is his edition of the Bauddha Gāna O Dohā consisting of the Caryācaryaviniścaya, and the two Dohākoṣas of Sarojavajra and Advayavajra, representing the earliest specimens of the eastern or proto-Bengali language so far available. The Dohās were accompanied with ancient commentaries in Sanskrit, and the earliest among them may belong to a period much before the 11th century. The manuscripts of the three works were discovered by him in the Durbar and private libraries in Nepal.

Shastri published the Svayambhū Purāṇa, the only Buddhist Purāṇa ever written. It is a history of Nepalese Buddhism giving also a detailed topography of all holy places in that country, especially of the Svayambhū Kṣettra, the greatest place of pilgrimage of the Northern Buddhists.

His Six Tracts of Buddhist Nyāya are works on Buddhist Logic and Philosophy of the later Buddhist world, throwing a flood of light on such abstruse topics as Antarvyāpti or inference without example, on the transitoriness of the phenomenal world, on the latent meanings of words, and so on, which but for his interest in them would have remained absolutely unknown.

Rudra Chandra Deva, one of the Rajas of Kumaon, a contemporary of Akbar, wrote a work on Falconry entitled Syainika Śāstra which Shastriji edited for the Bibliotheca Indica and translated into English. Lord Curzon was much interested in this work and called it 'an extremely interesting book'. Shastriji also translated into English the Gautama Sūtras on the Nyāya System of Philosophy, without the help of a commentary, from the words of the Sūtra, but did not publish it. The publication of the fragments of the Chatuh śatikā of Āryadeva was perhaps the most difficult task Shastri had to perform. Out of about 100 leaves only twenty-three reached his hands, with the original leaf-marks carefully obliterated, and it took him years of study to locate these leaves into their

proper chapters, before finally publishing the same in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the Durbar Library of Nepal, Shastri discovered an unknown mahākāvya entitled Saundarananda which proved to be by no less a poet and philosopher than Aśvaghoṣa, the Guru of Kaniṣka. It was a twin to his Buddhacarita. It was unknown even in China and Tibet, though in Hindu and Jain literature occasional quotations from it were found. This was also published by him in the Bibliotheca Indica with the necessary critical apparatus.

The Rāmacarita of Sandhyākara Nandī is also a discovery of Shastri. It is the only historical work in Sanskrit concerning Eastern India yet discovered. The task of editing it was extremely difficult as it was throughout in double entendre—giving the history of Rāmāpāla, king of Bengal on the one hand, and the story of the Rāmāyaṇa on the other. Fortunately, a canto and a half out of four cantos were accompanied by an excellent commentary supposed to be by the author himself.

In 1899, Shastri made the startling discovery that in Bengal nearly a third of the Hindu population are still Buddhists without knowing that they are so. These people worship a deity named Dharma, which is no other than the second deity of the Buddhist Triad. The worship is conducted by non-Brahmins and the Mantras are full of Buddhist ideas. This discovery was greatly appreciated by scholars. Shastri published a pamphlet entitled 'Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal' on the subject. He also discovered a remnant of the Zoroastrian fire-worship still existing in a corner of Rajputana (Osia). It is the worship of a lamp, fed with ghee, which has been kept burning by a body of monks for centuries.

In his paper entitled 'Who were the Śungas' he announced the discovery that the Śungas who destroyed the Maurya empire, were Brahmins professing the Śamaveda who were greatly discontented by Aśoka's prohibition of all animal sacrifices.

In 1928, June, before he went to Lahore to preside over the 5th Session of the Oriental Conference he met with an accident and sustained a fracture of the femur bone in the right leg, and this was soon found to be incurable. This crippled him a great deal and he became confined mostly to his house. Even this the Mahāmahopādhyāya took very cheerfully and he used to say humorously that he got this punishment for his useless movements and staying out of his legitimate work, that is his cataloguing.

After that accident he had been working very strenuously at home daily, carefully dividing his time for the different types of work he had in hand. He worked at times for 16 or 17 hours per day. On the day of his death (17th November, 1931) he had worked for 17 hours, he felt tired, took his meagre meals at night, 10-30, and retired to sleep at 15 minutes to 11 P.M. At about 11 he felt uneasy, called in his grandsons and told them that his worldly sports were over. His breathing became hard, he perspired, drank a little water and turned on his side to sleep for ever. The whole affair was over in about five minutes, there could be found no signs of agony, no signs of death pangs on his face. He had always a great hatred for medicines, and his last moment was such that not a drop of this substance was needed.

I should like to add here a little on the personal side of the Mahāmahopādhyāya whom I had the privilege to know as a personal friend. Shastriji was a stoic in appearance, and a man of very few words to strangers. But amongst friends, who were few, he was highly humorous, and was extremely tender to friends. I recall to-day his eyes dimmed with affection the day I was leaving Calcutta to take residence at Patna, now 18 years ago. Never before and never after I saw those eyes so tender again.

Shastriji was an orthodox Brahmin in social life. But he was absolutely free in his thought. I did not come to know what his personal belief or worship was. If he had any, it was purely personal. I came to know him in 1912, and since then I never noticed him depressed or worried on account of any personal matter.

His greatest saying that I remember was: 'It is a matter of fortune to be superseded in research, for it denotes progress in our science and knowledge'. He never negotiated peace with the people he disliked. His sarcasms were withering.

His standard of morality was uncompromising, and he gave up friendships where he found a falling-off.

In letter-writing he was extremely happy in his language

and always pithy.

Shastriji knew much more than he could put on paper, although he has contributed very largely to Indology. was at best when he gave a survey-political, social, literary, or progress of research in various branches. public addresses, both in Bengali and English, will illustrate To this class belongs his text-book of Indian history which was used in schools some decades back. But his surveys at private conversations were marvellous. He could give almost cinematographic pictures covering centuries. I have never seen another scholar so encyclopædic and so narrative and at the same time so graphic in relating branch studies or ensemble syntheses. He could not reproduce those effects in his writings.

An honourable man in every sense, and an honour to Hindu scholarship was Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri. His writings will give food for years to come to scholars that are to come after him. And his countrymen will gratefully remember him, and Indian scholars will remember him as a tradition.

K. P. J.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES QF BOOKS.

I.-Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization.

I. THE INDUS SCRIPT.

The official account of Archeological Excavations at Mahenjo-Daro carried out by the Government of India between the years 1922 and 1927 has been edited by Sir John Marshall in three volumes, with plan and map in colours, and 164 plates in collotype. The co-ordination of the labours of numerous scholars has produced a sound and successful book, thoroughly worth reading and admirably readable. It covers some of the greatest epochs of human and Indian history, and presents a valuable summary of the results of the latest archæological and historical research bearing on the antiquity of Indian civilization—'So far, then as Mahenjo-Daro is concerned, there appears to be no sufficient reason for pushing the terminus a quo of its antiquities earlier than 3250 B.C. At the same time it is evident-and I should like to stress this point once again-that the culture represented must have had a long antecedent history on the soil of India, taking us back to an age that at present can only be dimly surmised.' (Vol. I, p. 106.)

This Indus civilization, unrelated to the Vedic which was neither the progenitor nor the lineal descendant of the Indus civilization (Vol. I, p. 111), bears close resemblance to Second Pre-diluvian culture of Elam and Mesopotamia and to the protohistoric culture of Sumer (Vol. I, p. 102). Individual objects (e.g., seals) afford proof of intercourse between Indus Valley, Mesopotamia and Elam (p. 103). Separate series of notes would be necessary to deal with these objects individually. The present notes are confined to a consideration of the script.

The script consists of 288 pictographs running from right to left. They are yet to be deciphered. As regards their origin, the conclusions put forward are:—

¹ Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization: Arthur Probsthain, London, 1931.

(a) 'In fact, I am unable to see how anyone can even tentatively hold a resemblance between the Brāhmī alphabet and the Phoenician, and the positive assertion of the correctness of this theory is entirely unwarranted.' (Langdon, Vol. II, p. 431.)

(b) 'The writer believes that the syllabic alphabet of Northern India, known as the Brāhmī script, from which all later characters were derived, is most probably a survival of the early pictographic system of the Indus Valley.' (Vol. II,

p. 427.)

(c) 'In all these widely spread epigraphical material, ranging from the upper to the lower parts of the Indus Valley, and to ancient Sumer and Elam, there is not a single text which differs in archaic style from the others. The epigraphist has no scope for studying the evolution of the script. It represents a standardized and advanced stage even at this early period, and the existence of the accents reveals the astonishing care and knowledge of phonetic principles which would hardly be conceded to the scribes of this remote period. *** The Mesopotamian seals are also decisive on the problem of chronology. Lagash and Umma disappear from history before 2000 B.C., and three of these seals were found there. If inscriptions of no other type are found in the excavations of the Indus Valley, then we must suppose that the history of this fine civilization ends with these monuments, and the vast expanse of years between that catastrophe and the invasion of the Aryans is filled with uncertain tradition. If, however, this script was preserved and finally issued into the alphabet of the Buddhistic period, it proves that the Aryans must have had intimate contact with these founders of culture in India. In any way we may look at the problem, the Aryans in India are far more ancient than history admits. Their migration across Anatolia, where traces of them are found in the inscriptions of the Hittite capital, as early as the seventeenth century, is an hypothesis entirely contradictory to the new situation revealed by these discoveries in the Indus Valley. Far more likely it is that the Aryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race.' (Langdon, Vol. II, pp. 431-32.)

As regards decipherment:-

- (d) 'Working with the present material, I suggest to Sanskrit scholars that they choose the names of a few mythical heroes and of deities, and with the few identifications here made attempt to separate the constantly recurring groups of signs and compare them with these names.'
- (e) 'It is necessary to resign further investigation to Sanskrit scholars.' (Vol. II, p. 424.)
 - (f) 'Three assumptions may be made:-
 - (i) That the writing is, at least, in part, syllabic.
 - (ii) That the seal-inscriptions are, in general, names.
 - (iii) That these names belong to an ancient Indo-Āryan language.

Each one of the above conclusions and assumptions proves once more how scholars who declined to disregard Indian tradition achieved sounder results, in spite of violent, often virulent criticism.

- Thus (a) was demonstrated by Jayaswal, years ago in J.B.O.R.S., after a penetrating analysis of the Brāhmī alphabet, almost in identical terms—'I am convinced that all attempts to derive the Brāhmī alphabet from Semitic alphabets were complete failures.' (Langdon, Vol. II, p. 424.)
- (b) Much of the opposition to Jayaswal's identification of the two pre-Mauryan images from Patna, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (J.B.O.R.S., 1918) was based on an unthinking prejudice against earlier stages of pre-Aśokan Brāhmī.
- (c) Pargiter challenged the current theory of an Āryan migration across Anatolia and invasion through the North-West into India, as early as 1922, in his 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition', cf. pp. 301-302, 'Indian Tradition suggests a reverse origin for the Iranians, which is linguistically tenable, which harmonises with the Boghazkeui treaty, and which can account for their language and religion.' (Pargiter, op. cit., p. 302.)

The appeal to Sanskritists in (d), (e) and (f) is mainly an appeal to the Purāṇas. The response of the Purāṇas is not unhelpful. It lies in the origin and subsequent history of the race of Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu.

Cf. Vāyu, Brahmāṇda, Linga, Kūrma, Padma and Bhāgavata Purāṇas; Mbh. iii, 273, 15881 to 274, 15896: Rām. vii, 2 to 5 and 9.

'Tell me', asked Vaisampāyana, 'the history of the offspring of Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu.' Sūta said:—

Of the descendants of Sumāli, the Paulastya Asuras in the line of Viśravas were great followers of Śiva. After their defeat in the great war between the Asuras and the Gods, some of them migrated to the east near Vaiśālī. All the Paulastyas went to the South. Rāvaṇa the Śaiva led one branch and founded the city of Lankā. Others followed the sea-course to the east and to the west. Another line went across land to the west where beyond the White Mountain, they are flourishing now.

Read for Sumāli—Sumerians, for the land of the Pulastis—Palestine, and the connection of the Vedic Panis with the land of the Phoenicians would lose its unintelligibility, cf. Rawlinson, History of Phoenicia, p. 379: 'Again several letters were made to serve for two sounds, as beth for b and v, pe for both p and f, etc.' As regards the White Mountain,—'But the great range of Phoenicia, its glory and its boast is Lebanon. Lebanon, the "White Mountain"—"the Mont Blanc of Palestine"—now known as "the Old White-headed Man" (Jebelesh-Sheik), or "the Mountain of Ice" (Jebel-el-Tilj), was to Phoenicia at once its protection, the source of its greatness, and its crowning beauty.' (Rawlinson, ibid., p. 14.)

'This is cultural evidence that no Semitic influence can be found at Jemdet Nasr. The names of the deities found on the pictographic tablets are all well-known Sumerian gods, and so is every one of the signs.' ¹

The worship of Siva is writ large over the ruins at Mahenjo-Daro (Vol. I, pp. 52-6).

This connection of the Asuras and the Āryas at earlier and later stages adds significance and plausibility to the final remarks of Langdon:—'If the two main hypotheses be assumed as true, (1) the identity of the Sumerian and Indus signs, (2) the derivation of the Brāhmī characters from the Indus signs, then it

¹ Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq, 1931, p. 223.

VOL. XVIII. PT. II.] MAHENJO-DARO AND INDUS CIVILIZATION. 239

must follow that the Āryan Sanskritists gave values derived from their own language to these characters. In other words they knew the ideographic meanings, translated them into Sanskrit, and derived the syllabic values from the Sanskrit words.' 1

A. Banerji-Sastri.

¹ Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. II, p. 455.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, April 24th, 1932.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James (Vice-President).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Mr. H. Lambert.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. J. L. Hill.

- 1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on March 6th, 1932.
- 2. Passed the monthly account for March, 1932, and the annual account for 1931-32, submitted by the Hon. Treasurer.
 - 3. Passed the revised Budget for 1932-33.
 - 4. Considered the Budget for 1933-34.

Resolved that the reductions in income and expenditure shown in the Budget for 1933-34 be restored in all cases.

Passed the Budget for 1933-34 as amended.

5. Read letter No. 781 from the Allahabad Bank, Patna, dated April 20th.

Passed a resolution authorizing the Hon. Treasurer to withdraw the sum of Rs. 6,107-0-3 from Fixed Deposit with the Allahabad Bank.

6. Resolved that the pay of the Mithila Pandit and of the Office Pandit be reduced by 10 per cent. with effect from April 1st, 1932.

7.	Sanc	tioned	paym	ent of	the	following	bills:—			
		•						Rs.	A.	P.
Baptist	Mission	Press B	ill No.	3024				812	15	6
,,	3,	,,	37	3025	• •			52	0	0
,,	,,	,,	,,	3026				4	6	0
22	,,	,,	,,	3027			• •	11	2	0
,,	,,	**	37	3028		• •		4	14	0
**	33	23	39	3029				9	12	0
,,	,,	,,	,,	3030				6	14	0
99	,,	,,	,,	3031		* 6	* *	45	12	0
99	90	,,	,,	3032			• •	23	8	0
**	22	22	**	3033				6	14	0

						TOTAL		978	Ī	6

8. Read the Second Circular of the VII International Congress of Historical Sciences, Warsaw.

Resolved that the Society regrets its inability to send a representative.

J. L. Hill,

26th April, 1932.

Honorary General Secretary.

Annual Account, 1931-32.

	24	2	ANNUAL	AU	CO	714.1.		[0.21		
	Budget.	Rs. A. P.	1,400 4 0 1,423 12 0 3900 5 4 3,800 0 0 3,550 0 0 225 0 0 400 0 0 90 0 0 85 11 0 360 0 0	• • • •	:	213 12 0 6,000 0 0	325 0 0 298 13 3	6,837 9 3		
8.E.	Actual.	Rs. A. P.	1141 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	403 5 10	16,915 13 1		irom Library	TOTAL 1,560 0 8 17,317 1 10	18,877 2 6 16,915 13 1	1,961 5 5
EXPENDITURE			Establishment Mithila Fandit Oriya Pandit Crya Pandit Covenment press bill Library Telephone Postage Stationery Furniure Electrical charges	Mayurbhanj Fund	TOTAL	1. Miscellaneous includes:— (a) Messrs. Luzac's cheque returned (b) To Bank F.D.	(c) Refund to Groenment from Grant (d) Actual expenditure	Opening Balance Income	Torat Expenditure	Closing Balance
	Budget	Be A D	1,000 0 0 1,360 0 0 0 2,500 0 0 0 2,000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	•	Control of the contro	213 12 0 1,498 12 1 4,000 0 0	တက္ ဝ	7,447 15 9		
	INCOME.	D. A D		TOTAL 17,317 1 10	Sala of Tournal includes :		(b) Interest	(c) Actual TOTAL		
			Sa Krasa Crasa Cra		-	નં જાં				

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.	
ख	a	ব	t	
न्धा	ā	थ	\mathbf{th}	
इ	i	द	d	
\$	1	ম্	dh	
ਤ	u	न	\mathbf{n}	
ক্ত	ŭ	घ	p	
報	ŗ or ŗi	घ	${\tt ph}$	
雅	ŗ or ŗī	ब	b	
₹	ļ.	भ	bh	
硬	1	स	m	
र्	e	य	У	
र्	ai	₹ ·	r	
खो	0	ल	1	
को	au	ą	V	
न	k	भ्र	ś	
ख	kh	घ	s or sh	
ग	g	स	s	
ঘ	gh	F	h	
S	ň	ल	1	
च	ch	$$ $(Anusv\bar{a}ra)$	m	
变	chh	$(Anun\bar{a}\dot{s}ika)$	m	
ञ	j	: (Visarga)	h	
भ	jh			
অ	ñ	\times (Jihvāmūlīya)	h	
ट	ţ) ((Upadhmānīya)	h	
ड	th	s (Avagraha)	, ;	
ह	d	$Ud\bar{a}tta$	-	
ट	dh	Svarita	A	
ग्र	ņ	Anudātta	/	

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY ON 31st DECEMBER, 1931.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
1	Foucher, Monsieur A	1919	Professor, University of Paris, Paris.
2	Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L.,	1916	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
3	Gait, Sir E. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1920	The Croft, Park Hill, Ealing, London.
4	Grierson, Sir George, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Retd.).	1916	Rath Farnham, Camberley, Surrey, England.
5	Haddon, Alfred C., M.A., SC.D., F.R S.	1916	3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
6	Jacobi, Dr. Hermann	1925	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.
7	Jolly, Prof. J	1925	Professor of Comparative Philology, Wurzburg.
8	Konow, Dr. Sten	1920	Ethnographic Museum, Oslo, Norway.
9	Levi, M. Sylvain	1919	Professor of Sanskrit, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg.
10	Oldham, C. E. A. W., c.s.I., I.c.s. (Retd.).	1926	21, Courtfield Road, London, S.W. 7.
11	Thomas, F. W., M.A., Hon PH.D., F.R.S.	. 1919	Boden Professor of Sanskrit University of Oxford.
12		. 1919	c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, London S.W.

LIFE MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
i	Das, Mr. P. R., Barat-Law	1918	Patna.
2	Deo, Raja Dharnidhar Indra	1917	Feudatory Chief of Bonai State, P.O., Bonaigarh (Orissa).
3	Deo, Raja Narayana Prasad	1929	Ruling Chief of Baudh State.
4	Dharmapala, The Rev. Anagarika.	1918	4-A, College Square, Calcutta.
5	Jalan, Rai Bahadur Radha- krishna.	1918	Patna City.
ij	Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Sahi.	1920	Hathwa (Saran).
7	Prasad, Mr. Ajit, M.A., LL.B.	1928	Advocate, Lucknow.
8	Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo	1918	Kanika (Orissa).
9	Shah, Mr. Hiralal Amritlal	1918	Princess Street, Champai Buildings, 2nd floor, Bom- bay.
10	Shahi, Lieut. Madhavaswo- rendra.	1924	Manjha, District Saran.
11	Singh, Raja Raghunandan Prasad.	1924	Monghyr.
12	Singh, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad.	1916	Arrah.
13	Singh, Raja Radhikaraman Prasad, M.A.	1916	Surajpura (Shahabad).
14	Singh, Maharaja Bahadur Sir Keshava Prasad, C.B.E.	1916	Dumraon (Shahabad)
15	Sinha, Mr. Mahendra Prasad	1928	Assistant Settlement Officer, Cuttack.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address,
1	2	3	4
_	A		
1	Acharya, P., B.Sc.	1928	Senior Archæological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.
2	Ahmad, Hafiz Shamsuddin,	1927	Patna College, Patna.
3	Aiyangar, R. S. Dr. Krishna- swami, M.A., PR.D.	1916	43, Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.
4	Aiyangar, R. B. K. V. Rangaswami.	1915	Maharaja's College, Trivan- drum, Travancore.
5	Armour, Prof. J. S., M.A	1926	Patna College, Patna.
	В		
6	Batheja, Prof. H. R., M.A.,	1920	Patna College, Patna.
7	Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R	1924	35, Ballygunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.
8	Bhattacharya, Benoytosh	1924	Director, Oriental Institute, Kothi Buildings, Baroda.
9	Bhattacharya, Prof. Tara- pada, M.A.	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
10		1918	Dewanpur Road, Navapark, Bhawanagar.
11	Bodding, Rev. P. O.	. 1918	Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
12	Bose, Anant Kumar .	. 1931	Kadamkuan, Patna.
13		. 1928	Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.
10			
	C	1000	3923, Packard Street, Long
14	Carr, Paul Roland .	. 1928	Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.
14	Chakladar, Haran Chandre M.A.	а, 1916	28-4, Sri Mohan Lane, Kali ghat, Calcutta.
		1	

ACCOUNTS			
No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
16	Chaube, Ram Kumar	1931	Azmatgarh Palace, Benares.
.17	Chaudhuri, G. K	1928	Ballipur P.O., Darbhanga.
18	Chaudhuri, Dr. Tarapada,	1927	Prof., Patna College, Patna.
19	Chaudhuri, P., 1.c.s	1931	S.D.O., Bihar Sharif, Patna.
20	Christian, H. D	1920	Superintendent, Gangpur State, Orissa.
21	Coomaraswamy, Dr. Anand K.	1923	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
	D		
22	Das, Kali Prasad	1929	Barh, District Patna.
23	Das, Kasinath, M.A.	1925	Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
24	Das, Madhusudan, B.A., B.L.	1918	Bhubanpur, P.O. Nimapara, Puri.
25	Das, U. K	1918	Srinath Mills, 10, Srinath Das Lane, Calcutta.
26	Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A	••	Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.
27	Dayal, Shiveshwar, M.A., B.L.	1920	Vakil, Patna High Court.
28	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitro- daya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonepur.
29	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Nara- yan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
30	Deshpande, R. S. G. K	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
31	Dhruva, A. B., M.A.	••	Principal, Hindu University, Benares.
	E		
	Nil.		

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	F		-
32	Faweus, G. E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruc- tion, Patna.
33	Filgate, T. R., C.I.E	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. I.
	G		
34	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B.Sc.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
35	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
36	Godbole, Y. A., I.C.s.	1920	Deputy Commissioner, Daltonganj.
37	Gupta, Shiva Prasad	1918	Nagva House, Benares City.
	H		· '
38	Heras, Rev. H., s.J., M.A	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
39	Hill, J. H., M.A	1930	Patna College, Patna.
40	Hussain, Saiyid Muhammad, M.L.C.	1924	Dariapur, P.O. Bankipur, Patna.
	I		
41	Imam, Nawab Shamsul Ulema Saiyid Imdad.	1915	Neora, Patna.
	J		
42	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopi- nath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.R.A.S., M.B.D.M.	1924	P.O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
43	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Lakhs- minarayana Harichan- dan, Raja Bahadur.	1929	Ditto.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
44	James, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., 1.C.s.	1923	High Court, Patna.
45	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad	1925	Kadamkuan, Patna.
46	Jayaswal, K. P., M.A., Bar at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
47	Jha, Lakshmikant, B.L	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
48	Jha, Ramakrishna, B.L	1930	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
49	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A., B.L.	1928	Oldham Road, Gaya.
	к		
50	Khan, K. B. Sarfaraz Hussain	1916	Khwajekalan, Patna City.
51	Khan Bahadur Syd Muham- mad Ismail.	1928	Patna City.
52	Khanna, Vinayak Lal	1924	Hindu Library, 3, Nandlal Malik's Lane, Calcutta.
53	Kimura, R	1920	22, Wellesley 2nd Lane, Calcutta.
54	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Superintendent of Archæolo- gical Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
	L _	,	
55	Lall, Rai Bahadur Hira	1918	Retired Deputy Commissioner, Katni, C.P.
56	Lall, Rai Sahib Bihari	1920	Prime Minister, Chhuikadan State, Via Dongargarh, C.P.
57	Lall, Raja P.C	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
58	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S	1920	Patna.
50	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
	M		
60	Mackenzie, W	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
61	Macpherson, Hon'ble Justice, Mr. T. S., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1916	Patna.
62	McPherson, Sir H., K.C.I.E., c.s.I., I.C.S (Retd.).	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W. I.
63	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhag- vat Prasad Samantarai.	1924	P.O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
64	Mahashaya Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshannath, Balasore.
65	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
66	Majumdar, Dr. R. C	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
67	Majumdar, Bimanbehari	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
68	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda.	1924	Patna City.
69	Manuk, P. C., Barat-Law	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
70	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S.	1927	Azamgarh.
71	Metropolitan, The Most Rev.		The Palace, Bishop's House, 51, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
72	Miller, Sir T. Dawson, KT	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E.C., London.
73	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A	1927	B.N. College, Patna.
74	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L.	. 1920	D.J. College, Monghyr.
75	Mukerji, Prof. A . N	. 1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.
76	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A.	, 1917	1/8, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
77	Noor, K. B. Khwaja Muham- mad.	1915	Gaya.
	0	-	
	Nil.		
	P		
78	Panda, R. Ch., L.M.P.	1931	Medical Officer, Parikud, Puri.
79	Pandeya, Sahadeva Narayan, M.A.	1925	S.I. Schools, Madhepura, Bhagalpur.
80	Pantulu, J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L.	1915	Mukteswaram, Tottarmundi P.O., Godavari District.
81	Pantulu Garu Sriniwas Rao, M.A., L.T., M.R.RY.	1928	Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.
82	Patnaik, Sudhakar	1921	Sub-Deputy Collector, Balasore.
83	Peppe, A. T	1915	Manager, Chota Nagpur Raj, Ranchi.
84	Perier, Most Rev. F. J., s.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta.
85	Petter, A. B	1915	Deputy Magistrate, Gaya.
86	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A	1928	c/o Babu Tribeni Prashad, B.L., Vakil, Chapra.
87	Prasad, Hon'ble Justice Sir Jwala, KT.	1916	High Court, Patna.
88	Prasad, Kamta	1930	Professor of Physics, Science College.
89	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
90	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
91	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Vakil, Patna.

${\bf ORDINARY\ MEMBERS--} (continued).$

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.
1	2	3	4
92	Prasad, Surya Prasad Maha- jan. Q Nil.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	R		O,
93	Ramdas, G., B.A	1924	Headmaster, Board High School, Jeypur, Vizagapa- tam.
94	Ranganathan, S. R.	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
95	Ratnakar, Jagannath Das	1928	Shivalaya Ghat, Benares.
96	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Patna.
97	Ray, Rai Bahadur S. C., M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
98	Richards, F. J	1924	6, Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8.
99	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
100	Ross, Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. L.	1917	Patna.
	S		was a
101	Sabanis, R.V	1925	Librarian, Bombay University, Bombay.
102	Sahay, Shyamnandan, B.A.	1928	Sahay Bhavan, Muzaffarpur.
103	Saheb Bhubaneswar Singh	1930	Kamalalaya, Muzaffarpur.
104	Sarkar, Ganpati	1926	69, Beliaghatta Road, Calcutta.
105	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.
106	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.

_					
No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.		
ı	2	3	4		
107	Sarma, Srikanta	1930	Zilla School, Monghyr.		
108	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Principal, B. N. College, Patna.		
109	Seppings, E. H. L.	1916	Innes Road, P.O. Kem- mendine, Rangoon.		
110	Sham Bahadur	1928	Barat-Law, Patna.		
111	Shastri, Dr. A Banerji, M.A., P.H D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.		
112	Shastri, Dr. Harichand,	1918	Ditto.		
113	Shastri, I. D. Durgadatti	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.		
114	Shastri, Prof. Gokulchand	1928	Sri-Chandra College, Khat- mandu, Bagbazar, Nepal.		
115	Shaw, Parmanand	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.		
116	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Muzafferpur.		
117	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.		
118	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtya- nand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.		
119	Singh, Raja Rajendralal, Bariha.	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.		
120	Singh, R. B. Ramranavijaya	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.		
121	Singh, Sarangadhar, M.A., B.L.	1925	Ditto.		
122	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A. B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.		
123	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A.,	1930	Bharati Publishers, Patna.		
124	Sinha, S., Barat-Law	1915	Patna.		

ORDINARY MEMBERS—(concluded).

No.	Name of member.	Year of election.	Address.		
1	2	3	4		
125	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr., S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.		
126	Surya Narayan, B.L	1924	Translator, High Court, Patna.		
127	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.		
128	Syed Muhammad	1924	Makhaniakuan, P.O. Banki- pur, Patna.		
	T				
129	Tagore, K. N., B.A	1926	5-1, Baranashi Ghosh's Street, Calcutta.		
130	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K	1915	Principal, C.M.S. High School, Bhagalpur.		
131	Taraporewala, Y. J	1930	Professor of History, Patna College.		
132	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, KT.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.		
133	Tripathi Devadatta	1916	Patna College, Patna.		
134	" Narayana	1930	Secretariat, Patna.		
135	Trivedi, Rao Bahadur V. G.,	1929	Watson Museum, Rajkot.		
	LL.B. U				
136	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore, C.I.		
	v		- W		
137	Varma, S. P	1930	Barat-Law, Patna.		
138	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra	1929	Kasi Vidyapitha, Benares.		
139	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.		

JOURNAL

OF THE

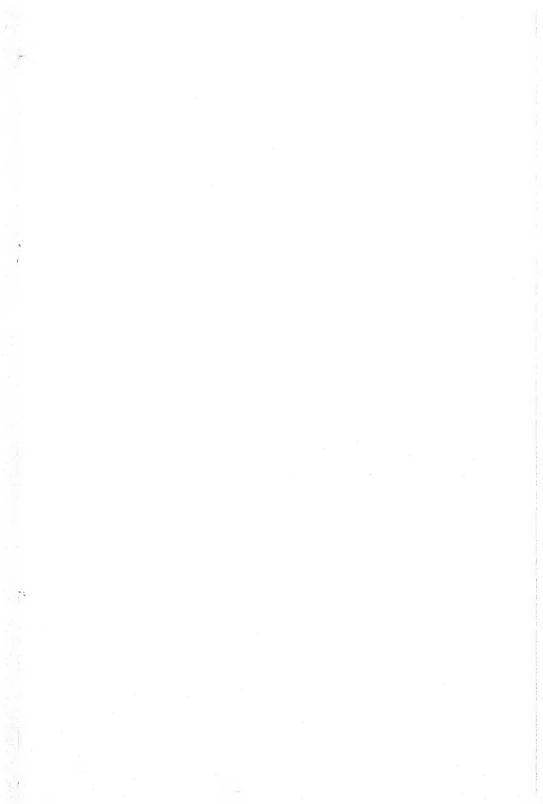
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

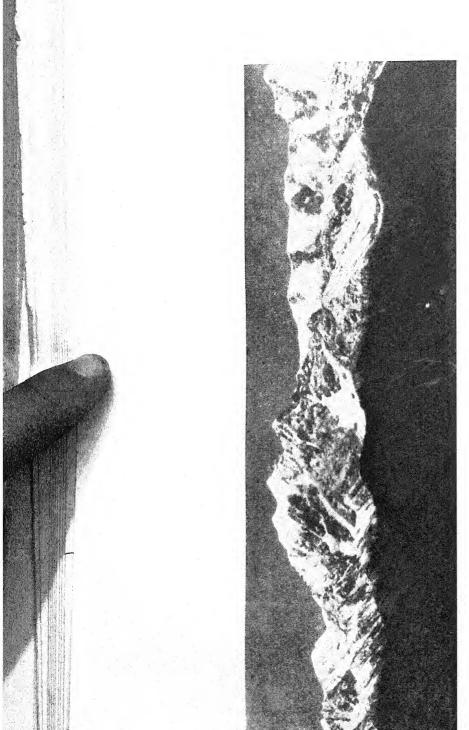
SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1932.

CONTENTS.

	Leaving Arricles.	-
I.	The Skirts of Nanda Devi (Continued with	PAGES
	6 plates) By the Vice-President.	255–271
II.	Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga	
	era (with 4 plates) By G. Ramadas, B.A.	272-295
III.	On the extent of Harsa's Empire By Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (London).	296-331
IV.	Mir Qāsim at Patna, 1761 By Nandalal Chatterji, Lecturer in Indian History, University of Lucknow.	332-352
V.	The Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India	353–381
	B.L., M.L.C.	
	$Miscellaneous\ Contributions.$	
I.	Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmarāja By the late Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A.	383-385
II.		907 900
	(with 4 plates)	387–390
III.	'Danta', a weapon	391

	F	Reviews and Notices of Books.—By K. P. Jayaswal	l.
			PAGES
	1.	Ghāgh aur Bhaḍḍarī, edited with translation in Modern Hindī, by Pandit Ramanareśa	
		Tripāṭhī	393
	2.	Kavi-rahasya, by Dr. Ganganath Jha	3 93
	3.	Arab aur Bhārata ke sambandha, translation of an Urdu book, by Syed Sulaimān Nadbî	393
	4.	Social and Economic Condition of Mediæval India, by Mr. A. A. Yusuf Ali (translated in Hindi)	394
	5.	Madhya-kālīna Bhāratīya saṁskriti, by MM. Gaurī Śaṅkara Hīrāchand Ojhā	394
	6.	Velī Krisana-Rukamanī-rī, by Prathirāja Rāthaur, translated in Modern Hindī, by Maharajah Jagmangal Singh, with a com- mentary	394
	7.	Rock-cut Temples around Bombay, by Mr. Kanhaiya Lal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., published by Taraporevala, Sons & Co	395
	8.	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1930 (Kern Institute, Leyden)	395
	9.	The Mahābhārata Text, Fasc. 6, edited by Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, Bhandarkar Institute, Poona	396
]	10.	Rise of the Christian Power in India, 2nd edition, by the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., published by Mr. R. Chatterji,	
-	1.	Calcutta Jainism in North India, by Chiman Lal J. Shah, M.A., published by Messrs. Long-	396
		mans, Green & Co.	397
-	12.	The Pallava Genealogy, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Bombay, Indian Historical Research	
		Institute	398





Triśūl from Dhakeri hill.

J. B. O. R. S., 1932.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XVIII.

1932.

PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Skirts of Nanda Devi—(Continued).

By the Vice-President.

II.

The route to Phurkiyā.

A journey such as that described by the Schlagintweits, when they travelled from Patna to Kumaon in 1855, is a thing of the distant past; but until the growth of motor transport in comparatively recent years, travellers to the mountains, whether they were visiting the Pindari Glacier or taking less frequented routes, began their march at the terminus of the railway at Kathgodam. For Phurkiya, or for the Gorigangā valley and the Untādhurā pass, the route lies through Bageśwar, which is eighteen miles N.N.W. from Almora as the crow flies, and through Kapkot, fourteen miles farther north by the bank of the Sarju. They had the choice of two alternative routes, of which they usually took one on the outward journey and the other in returning. They could go through Bhim Tal, Ramgarh and Peora to Almora, and thence through Thakulā to Bāgeśwar; or they could take the cartroad through Rānīkhet to Majhkali, and from there cross Arideo to Someśwar, which is 13½ miles N.N.E. from Almora

(for a crow), and sixteen miles from Bāgeśwar by the bridle path. That was a pleasant way of travelling; but it made the journey longer. Twenty or thirty years ago, men had been climbing and descending for six days when they reached Bāgeśwar, a fact which should be remembered if travellers who have published accounts of the journey appear to have thought that in ultimately reaching Phurkiyā they had almost arrived at the end of the world.

Until comparatively recently it was customary to take fresh coolies at each stage, so that every day began with some anxiety and loss of time and temper while the coolies were being collected. Dr. Boeck travelled for the greater part of his journey in this manner, actually gathering coolies day by day while he was going across country from the Pindari valley to the Goriganga; but it is not a manner of travelling to be recommended. The Government Transport Agency at Almora now provides permanent coolies for the whole journey; and the simplest course is to arrange with the Secretary that the requisite number of coolies shall be ready at Almora. Each coolie carries forty pounds for twelve annas a day; and if the baggage can be arranged in proper loads, and a trustworthy man can be sent ahead to Almora to take it out to Someswar, it is now possible to go by motor-car direct from Kathgodam to Someśwar, thereby saving another day which would otherwise be spent in the lower hills, a matter of some importance to visitors from Bihar, whose time is ordinarily limited. At Katarmal, seven miles from Almora, a good motorable road takes off for Someśwar, so that it is not necessary to go as far as Almora. I have remarked that the old method of doing the journey was more pleasant; but it took time: and as most people who have not unlimited time at their disposal would prefer to spend as much as possible of it beyond the foothills, they take the motor to Almora or Someswar. For the generality of people, as the Schlagintweits might say, the journey by motor-car is found to be trying and not pleasurable. Every companion with whom I have done that journey has suffered, the youngest most of all; but one of the greatest of modern mountaineers has found journeys by motor-car in

these hills equally trying, which should give some consolation to those who may feel qualms on the road. I myself doubt whether anybody would suffer in a car that was completely open; but whether that is true or not, there is little to choose between the route to Almora and that to Someśwar. The trying parts of the journey occur in the climb up to Rānīkhet, and in the descent to Katarmal; the road to Someśwar is easy enough, and one may as well go from Katarmal to Someśwar as to Almora.

If Almora is taken as the starting point, the first march is to the bungalow at Thakulā (5,335), an easy journey of fourteen miles. From there the route to Bāgeśwar is a little over twelve miles, a short descent, followed by a climb to the pass, from which the road to the Sarju is all down hill, ending with a tiring walk of two miles by the bank of the Sarju. From Someśwar (4,548), the route is a little longer, but less tiring, leading over a pass (6,600) and thence by an easy descent to the junction of the Sarju and the Gomati, where Bageśwar lies. If arrangements can be made ahead the route by Someswar is to be preferred. Bāgeśwar (3,200) is a picturesque village, of stone houses adorned with carved wood-work, and stone paved streets, standing at the junction of the Gomati and Sarju, whose blue waters, flecked into pure white as they dash against the boulders which obstruct their passage, are seen from time to time through side-alleys as one passes up the main street. There is here an ancient temple of Siva 1, built about 1450 A.D., specially sacred from the local legend that this junction of the rivers is the actual place where Mahādeva espoused Pārvatī Devī. The bungalow is spacious and comfortable, on the left bank of the Sarju, which here abounds in mahseer, though the fisherman should go lower down, below the junction of the rivers.

Leaving Bāgeśwar, we again cross the suspension bridge to the right bank of the Sarju, which is followed for fourteen miles to Kapkot (3,450), a level march through a beautiful

¹ See Mr. Panna Lall's 'Account of a tour in the Almora District, Himalayas' (J.B.O.R.S., VI, pp. 361-371).

valley, usually found to be hot. From Kapkot the route continues for a short distance along the right bank, until the river is crossed by a suspension bridge which was built as a memorial to the men of Dhanpur pargana who lost their lives in the Great War. Two and a half miles farther, the left bank becomes precipitous, and the route leaves the Sarju for a short time, for half a mile following the left bank of a tributary stream, which is followed to its source by the traveller for the Gorīgangā. The routes diverge at a bridge, where the old signpost 'To Tibet' used to stand. The route to the Pindar valley here skirts a hill, rising to 4,400 feet near the 45th milestone (from Almora), and then descending again to the Sarju, which is crossed for the last time, by a modern bridge a furlong beyond the 46th milestone. The right bank is followed to the 48th milestone, where the route leaves the Sarju, and a steep climb of a mile leads to Loharkhet (5,500), the last village of the outer ranges, and the last with a postoffice. The valley of the Sarju has now been left behind, and only the lower slopes of the long ridge running south from Nandā Kot remain to be crossed before the Pindar valley is reached. The ridge is crossed, 5½ miles from Loharkhet, at the Dhakeri pass (9,516), from which an easy descent of half a mile leads to the Dhakeri rest-house (8,870). This march, involving a climb of four thousand feet, is laborious only at the lower levels, and is merely delightful as the pass is approached, with the snows of Nandā Koţ (22,530) shining ahead, and a beautiful distant view of the perfect pyramid of snow (22,660), flanked by four slightly lower peaks, which lie east of north-east thirty miles away. These are the Panch Chola, in Hindu tradition the corruptible bodies made incorruptible, of the five Pāṇḍava brothers of the Mahābhārata, who gave up their kingdom to climb to the abode of the Gods, and there rejoin their comrades who by death on the field of battle had already won their passport to heaven 1.

¹ I quote from Mr. E. B. Havell's account of the legend, which is illustrated by a striking distant view of this group in his *Himalayas in Indian Art*.

One by one they stumbled and fell, borne down by the consciousness of their faults, until at last the good king Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five brothers, the only one who had never swerved from the path of honour and duty, was left alone with a faithful dog who had followed him and shared all the trials of the pilgrimage. But when Indra, the King of Heaven, appeared to take him up in his shining car, a further proof was demanded of Yudhishthira—the pure precincts of the Devas' courts must never be defiled. Indra bade him leave the unclean dog behind. Yudhishthira declared that to desert a devoted friend, though only a dog, was a sin against Dharma, the inexorable law of righteousness which the Devas themselves must obey. Rather than obey Indra's commands he would renounce the joys of paradise. But as he turned sorrowfully away the dog assumed its real form, that of the god Dharma himself, the pure spirit of Nature, which often thus disguises itself in humble forms to fulfil the purpose of the Lord of Life. Mr. Havell justly remarks that the story illustrates the tendency of Indian thought to transmute æsthetical and ethical ideas; and points out how Dharma was identified with Siva; and the guardian deity of the Abode of Snow became the symbol of spiritual purity and religious duty.

The wise traveller, who is moderately healthy and strong, will do well to turn to the west a little before the Dhakeri pass is reached and ascend Dhakeri hill. The ascent involves a climb of another thousand feet over down-like country, ascended in a mile; but, paradoxical though it may appear, so far from being fatiguing, it will be found to be so completely easy and delightful that it will remove any sensations of fatigue that may have been felt on the ascent from Loharkhet. I doubt whether there are many places in the world where a thousand feet in a mile can be climbed rapidly with so little consciousness of effort; and the journey is worth undertaking, if only for that remarkable experience. The panorama from the top of the hill is magnificent. Immediately below is the Pindar valley, on the other side of which are glaciers flowing down from the Trīśūl group (23,406, 22,490 and 22,360), and from 21,858 and 21,624. The peaks of Trīśūl dominate

the landscape; but the peaks of Nandā Devī are concealed, owing to the proximity of the long high snowy ridges of Trīśūl East and Sundardhuṅgā (21,858). South-east of 21,858 is the Pindari Glacier with Nandā Kot. More distant on the eastern side, the Panch Chola peaks stand out, with the mountains of Nepal beyond. On the south lie the outer ranges, with Cheena and Lariya Kanta prominent, while beyond are the plains of India. A cairn stands at the summit of Dhakeri, said to have been erected when a Governor visited the place. The first vowel of Dhākerī is long, but the word as always pronounced might be better transliterated as Dhankerī. The ascent from the pass up the grassy slope to the summit crowned with the cairn is not unlike the ascent of Dunkerry in the Exmoor country; and it is probably for this reason that Dhakeri hill has come to be known as the Beacon.

The Dhakeri rest-house (8,870) is a pleasant place, facing the outer snowy ridges of Trīśūl and Nandā Devī. The prospect on the north up to Nanda Kot is for the greater part what was seen from the Beacon, though necessarily more limited from the fact that the rest-house is seventeen hundred feet lower: Trīśūl (22,490) and East Trīśūl (22,360), together with 21,858, the Pindari Glacier and Nandā Kot; but the highest peak of Trīśūl is not visible from here. The wild raspberry abounds at this elevation in October, similar to the raspberry which abounds in the Alps three thousand feet lower, and two months earlier. It may, so far as my experience has gone, be enjoyed with impunity; and to pick up refreshment in this way as one climbs towards the Dhākerī pass, or up to Diwālī, and to have fresh fruit, not taken out of a tin, certainly adds to the enjoyment of this part of the journey. There is also a wild gooseberry, which should be treated cautiously. The coolies are apt to gorge on it, and this will probably cause trouble when one or more of them are laid out with severe colic. It is embarrassing to the traveller who lacks medical knowledge, when he is travelling in these remote regions, to find that he is expected to show medical skill; but for this form of trouble, heat applied to the agonised region is the safest remedy for the amateur to use: and the

traveller should for this reason not be without hot water bottles, whatever other medical comforts or remedies he may think fit to take with him.

An easy march of five miles leads down to Khati (7,650), the last inhabited village of the valley. The rest-house stands high above the Pindar river, commanding beautiful views of Nandā Kot and the eastern Trīśūl peak. From here the traveller who has provided himself with tents can strike across country to the Goriganga if he pleases; and the traveller who has no tents will probably begin to regret that he has Dr. Boeck, after he had been weather-bound at none. Phurkiyā for a fortnight, travelled from here across country to Lilam, by Mikila and Namik, taking a long time over the journey, and suffering badly on the way, because he had to travel low in order to pick up his transport from day to day, in the fashion which ruled in his time; and it has always appeared more remarkable to me that he got through in this way at all than that he took a long time in doing it. There is a high level route, known to the men of Johar, from Baugdiar in the Gorīgangā valley (8,550), by the Poting Glacier and the slopes of 19,554, which should be interesting; but of course not possible if transport were to be picked up day by day.

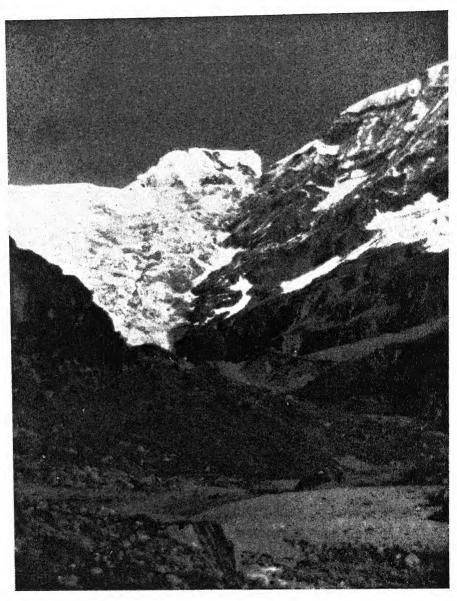
The journey to the Pindari Glacier is generally regarded as so exceptionally easy because it can be accomplished without tents; and because it is ordinarily done in this way, a large proportion of those who do it lament their lost opportunities when they record their experiences in the Phurkiyā log-book. The art of making very light and easily portable tents has been brought to such perfection in India that very little is saved by travelling without them; so easily carried, so quickly and easily pitched, and affording such complete freedom in the mountains that to travel without them is mistaken economy.

Many travellers pass Khati by, and go straight from Dhākerī to Diwālī (9,000), which though it is a double march, is only ten miles in all, and easier than many of the regular stages. The route from Khati lies by the Pindar river, which is twice crossed on the way. Near Diwālī the right bank is high and steep; and the tributaries of the Pindar

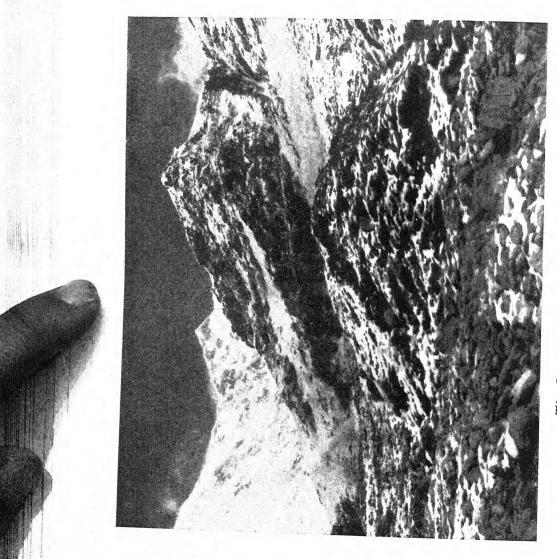
descend in cascades of wonderful beauty. Mr. Campbell Forrester photographed one of the waterfalls; but as he truly says, no photograph could give the faintest impression of its beauty. He was not the first or the last to discover that. The delicate beauty of these waterfalls, which must be seen to be realised, gains in impressiveness to the eye from the great height of the fall; but the camera cannot reproduce the play of colour which occurs when at every five hundred feet or so the falling water strikes a projecting rock; and in any photograph the immensity of the fall tends to make the volume of water, which is considerable, appear insignificant. To include a man, standing by the foot of the fall, might possibly give some impression of its size; but I think that these wonderful falls would bring to despair an artist seeking 'composition'. There are some beauties of nature which are beyond the capacity of art to reproduce or adequately suggest.

Diwālī stands at the junction of the Kuphini and the Pindar rivers. The Pindar valley henceforth runs almost due north; and in favourable conditions the eastern peak of Nandā Devī here comes into view. Four miles farther up the valley is Phurkiyā (10,000), where is the last of the rest-houses.

Whatever the traveller without tents may have thought at Khati, he will find cause to regret his lack of them at Diwālī, since the lack of them will confine his exploration of the Kuphini valley to a mere dash out and back from Diwālī. The bed of the Kuphini in its lower reaches presents a curious appearance of desolation, covered with the debris of avalanches. The snout of the glacier is at 12,650 feet, about seven miles from Diwālī, by a rough and steep track, which has the merit of never descending appreciably, so that every step is something actually gained in height. From the fifth mile to the foot of the ice-fall (13,050) a succession of roomy plateaux afford excellent camping grounds; and the higher valley is beautiful. The glacier, fed on the east by subsidiary glaciers from 19,554, descends from Nandā Kot, which stands out above the ice-fall. The appearance of the right lateral moraine suggests that a route to the highest névé of Nandā Kot might here be found, but the appearance may be deceptive.



The Kuphini Glacier and Nanda Kot.



The Pindari Glacier < left lateral moraine).

Monal are common on the moraines of this valley. In the October of 1931, we came on the fresh footmarks of a large tiger in the sand of the Kuphini at 12,000 feet. He must have been living a hard life if he was subsisting on baral and tahr; but there was nothing else there for him to find. Baral have been shot on the Pindari Glacier, but very rarely; and they are not common in these valleys. The tahr is much more common; a group is ordinarily to be seen in the evening on some distant ledge; often nearer, tempting to long shots, but comparatively few are brought to bag.

III. Phurkiyā and the Pindari Glacier.

'The book contained the usual assortment...... There was the politely patronising entry:

Being accustomed to Wolverhampton, I am greatly pleased with this coast.

The poetical effusion:

Majestic spot: say doth the sun in heaven Behold aught to equal thee, wave washed Penleven, etc.

The contemplative man's ejaculation:

It is impossible, on viewing these Cyclopean Cliffs, to repress the thought, How great is Nature, how little Man.

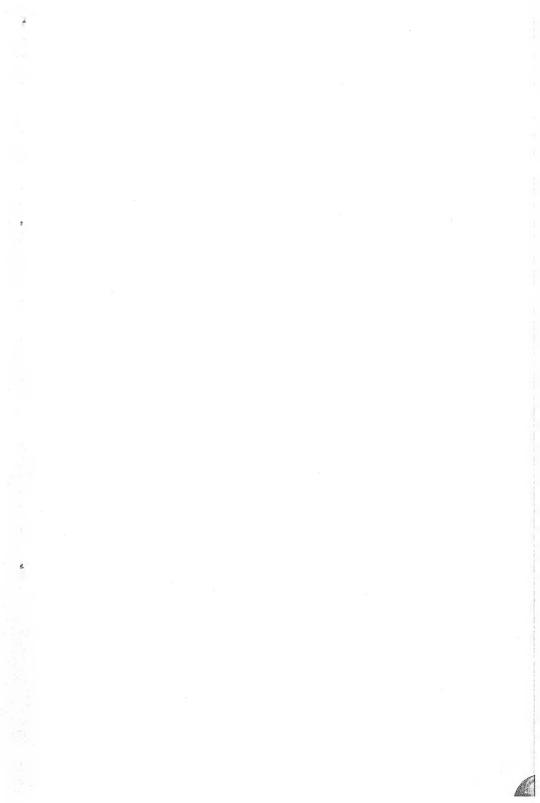
A note; So it is old chap; and a reproof in another hand: Shut up, can't you see he's suffering.'

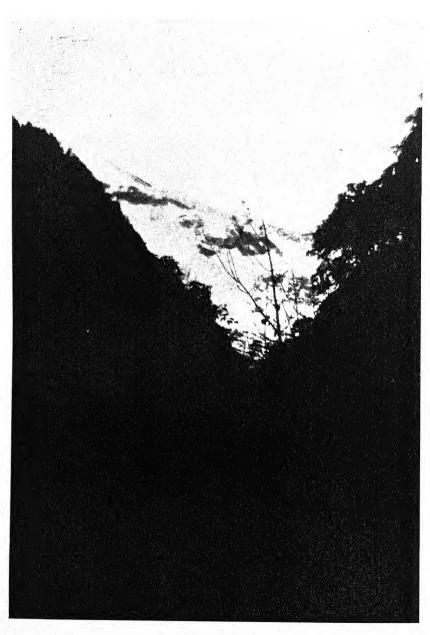
Extracts from Mr. Job's visitors' book at Penleven. ('The Haunted Yacht' by 'Q').

The windows of the rest-house at Phurkiyā are protected on the outside, when the house is not in use, by stout boards; a necessary precaution, since otherwise in the early winter, when the bungalow is undergoing the annually recurring process of being buried in snow, the debris coming down with a snow-slide would stove the windows in. The boards serve also to keep out wild animals. When we visited Phurkiyā in

October of 1924, we found that a bear had taken refuge from the great storm of the previous month by climbing on the roof and making a great hole in it, so gaining access to the southern room. He had made his exit by breaking down the door from inside. The bungalow originally consisted of one room, with a porch on the north, of which photographs may be found in Dr. Boeck's Indische Gletscherfahrten. Another room has now been added; and the old porch has been converted into a bay window, which in the winter of 1930-31 was slightly dislodged by an unusually violent snow-slide, so that the rain and the wind now enter by the gaps in the alcove of the northern room; but the room is large, no appreciable discomfort is caused, and the stability of the bungalow itself is apparently not threatened.

On the 25th of May, 1894, Colonel J. W. A. Michell, of the Indian Staff Corps, planted flags on the glacier in order to ascertain its rate of flow, as Tyndall had done a generation before on the Mer de Glace. He left an exact note of their positions, so that future travellers might make observations; but Phurkiyā is a very different kind of place to the Montanvers, and although every visitor to the place might reasonably be expected to assist, and certainly would do so, it is too far from the nearest haunt of civilised men for hope of success in such an experiment. It may be true that more parties visit the Pindari Glacier than other glaciers of the Himalaya; but in saying that one is only speaking relatively; and visitors to the Pindari come at long and uncertain intervals. A traveller did visit the place three weeks after Colonel Michell had set up his flags; he noted that they had all fallen, and one had distinctly moved, but the distance was not noted. comment is that all traces of the flags have disappeared. The loosely bound sheets of paper left by Colonel Michell for the record of observation of the movement of the glacier were treated, after the flags had disappeared, as a kind of Visitors' Book, in which travellers recorded their achievements, and when they had nothing worth recording to note, became facetious or sentimental. Mr. F. Canning of the Indian Forest Service, whose own contributions to the book are among the





Sunset on Nanda Devi, from mile 70. \langle In the middle foreground is the darkening slope of 21624 \rangle .

more valuable, ultimately collected all that remained of the loosely bound sheets, and bound them up into a substantial book, which he presented to the bungalow as the Phurkiyā Some earlier entries had been lost before Mr. Canning collected what was left, as we know from extracts from the sheets which were published before the first bound book was made. The book now runs into three substantial volumes, which present a curious mixture; the ordinary trivialties of the ordinary Visitors' Book; scientific notes by officers of the Forest Department, including a complete account of the local flora from Mr. H. Champion; notes on the apparent retreat of the glacier; and records of serious mountaineering exploits. We find the politely patronising entry; 'Having been on glaciers in many parts of the world, I did not go on the Pindari Glacier, but I greatly admired the view'. There is no lack of the contemplative man's ejaculations, or of poetical effusions and humorous entries, all of which serve to entertain parties who find themselves weather-bound in the bungalow; though the practice of appending marginal notes to other persons' entries should be discouraged. Among the more valuable entries is a note of exploration of the glacier made by Mr. Canning himself in 1912, illustrated by an excellent map.

The Pindari Glacier flows down from the slopes of 21,624, an outlying peak of Nanda Devi, and 20,740, a lesser peak of Nandā Kot. The Dhanpuriyas are apt, when on the glacier, to call 21,624 Nandā Devī and 20,740 Nandā Kot, a fact which leads to much discussion in the book. Dr. L. L. Fermor in 1906 pointed out that Nanda Devi was not visible from the glacier (that is to say from the lower part of it). This is correct; Nanda Devi is concealed by the slopes of 21,624. It is not clear whether Dr. Fermor meant also to say that Nandā Devi was not visible from the Pindar valley; but he was read as having said this; and it appears to have been generally assumed that Nandā Devī was not visible from Phurkiyā, so that somebody always dogmatically corrects travellers who claim to have seen her. An engineer from Dhanbad, who supports his statement by a mathematical demonstration of its possibility, does not thereby escape subsequent correction; and

in due course we find in the book a picture of a tombstone erected over the dead legend that Nandā Devī is visible from the glacier, Phurkiyā or Diwālī. The visitor to Phurkiyā or Diwālī should look towards the north at sunrise or sunset on a perfectly clear day; and he will see the eastern peak of Nandā Devi lit up by the sun while 21,624 and the rest of the mountains are in darkness, a most beautiful sight, which will leave no doubt in his mind on the question. At that time of day it is perfectly clear that the peak is several miles behind the slopes of 21,624; but its distance is not apparent after sunrise, when it looks like a part of 21,624. The peak is visible from Phurkiyā, and for the first mile of the path to the glacier; more of it is naturally visible from Diwālī, though most frequently, on a day which is otherwise perfectly clear, the only indication of its existence is a small wisp of cloud in the north.

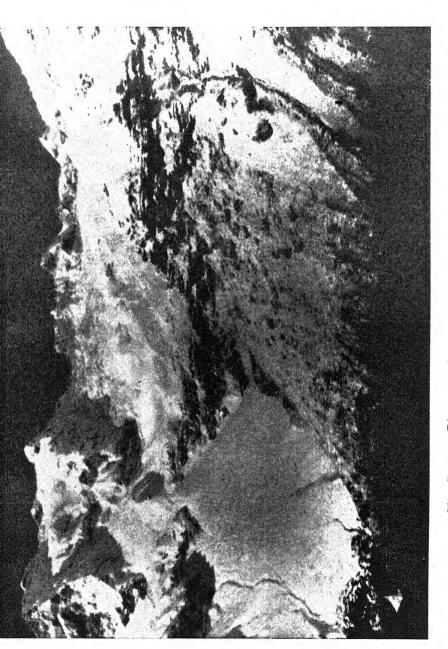
The Dhanpuriyas' trick of miscalling 20,740 Nandā Kot has been treated in the log-book with more respect. The Nandā Kot of the Survey map is the mountain (22,530), which in a distant view from the south stands out so prominently, appearing to form the eastern end of the Nandā Devī group, from which fact it probably derived its name. It is known by that name to the people of India generally (or to those of them who know anything about it at all); and so far as my own observation has gone, speaking subject to correction, I should say that it is known by no other name to the local people of the Gorīgangā side. The Dhanpuriyas of Lohārkhēt, though they also call it Nandā Kot, have another local name for it, Bankattia. Hence some writers in the log-book, including Mr. H. G. Champion, whose opinion demands respect, consider that 22,530 is miscalled Nandā Kot, and that the name should be applied to 20,740. That is all very well; but when others presume to correct previous travellers, by marginal notes substituting Bankattia where Nandā Kot has been mentioned, it is going too far. Dr. Kurt Boeck in his Indische Gletscherfahrten calls 24,379 Nandā Kot; but this is probably a mere mistake. I do not myself consider that any useful purpose is to be served by departing from the nomenclature

of the Survey, which indeed I think to be correct. There is comparatively little point in the name as applied to 20,740; and I certainly do not think that the name of Nandā Kot ought to be applied to any of the subsidiary peaks of the group in which 22,530 is the chief.

There appears to be a general consensus of opinion among those who have availed themselves of opportunities of observing the position of the snout at considerable intervals of time, that of late years the Pindari Glacier has been receding. Seventy years ago the upper névé could be reached comparatively easily from a side glacier by a col (Schlagintweit 17,770). The glacier has now so far retreated that the upper snow-field is practically inaccessible from the col, whereby the difficulty of the passage of Traill's Pass has been greatly increased. In 1898, our old friend Mr. Pringle Kennedy remarked that he thought that the snout had receded half a mile since he had visited the glacier in 1880. In 1915, Kunwar Sheo Singh, Tahsildar of Almora, observed that during the last five years the glacier had perceptibly receded, and that it was cutting deeper into its bed. In 1926, Mr. Canning, whose observation is to be trusted, remarked that the snout had receded 200 yards since 1912. The extension of the upper snow-field, which made it easy of access for Traill, may have been due to abnormal falls of snow in the earlier years of his administration. It is surprising to read in his first account of Kumaon that snow ordinarily remains on the northern slopes of the outer range, which culminates in the peaks of China (8,622) and Lariya Kanta (8,141), until the end of April; but in his account of the Bhotia mahals which he published in the seventeenth volume of Asiatic Researches he says that the interior of the Himalaya is daily becoming more inaccessible from the gradual extension of the zone of perpetual snow; and that the Bhotias point out ridges now never free from snow, which within the memory of man were clothed with forest and afforded pasture. He goes on to remark that the great accumulation of snow on the summits has the effect of forcing down the lower level of snow, and with it the line of perpetual congelation, and that Laspa in the Goriganga valley had been

recently rendered wholly unproductive for two years by a change of climate caused in this way by avalanches. If the state of the glacier in Traill's time was in part due to a succession of exceptionally heavy falls of snow, there has probably been since then a considerable shrinkage in the mass of ice; but the 'retreat' which has been observed in recent years need imply no more than that the glacier in the course of its continual erosion has come on a softer bed and cut deeper into it, continuing the process which has left the great moraines and created the plains of Hindusthan.

The glacier is reached by a path on the left bank of the Pindari river, on which the last mile-stone, three miles from Phurkiyā, marks 76 miles from Almora. Phurkiyā can be reached without tents; and a height of about 13,500 feet can usually be attained with ordinary boots and without equipment for climbing. Even here, nailed boots and an axe are desirable. The rocks which to the eye look merely wet will be found in the early morning to be covered with verglas: and an axe makes the passage over the steep hard frozen snow very much easier and quicker. Mr. Campbell Forrester has described in his Four Weeks' Tramp through the Himalayas how he slipped on one of these slopes when he visited the glacier; and although serious consequences were averted by the accident of his being held up by a bush after he had fallen some distance, it would have been better to have had an axe, when he would not have slipped at all. Indeed, one of the most common entries in the Phurkiyā log-book, running in one form or another throughout the volumes, is of regret for not having come up properly equipped, grieving over lost opportunities. It may be that the ordinary traveller expects too little, because the journey to Phurkiyā is made so easy for him. He leaves Phurkiyā, marching up towards the glacier, and suddenly he sees before him a prospect resembling that of the Bellavista in the Engadine. He goes a little farther, and he finds himself looking up the tributary Nandā Kot glacier, crowned by the great mountain, with snowy peaks and glaciers on each side of him, and regrets too late that he has not come equipped for travelling or climbing in the mountains.



The Pindari Glacier, tributary glaciers from Sundardhunga.

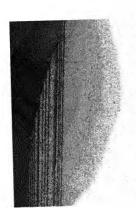


I have already described how Traill crossed the upper snow-field of the glacier, between 21,624 and 20,740, and descended by the Lwanl Glacier on the other side; and how he was followed in 1855 by Adolph Schlagintweit and in 1861 by Colonel Edmund Smyth. Sixty-five years were to go before the pass was again to be successfully attempted. Traces of the path which Traill made still remain on the right lateral moraine of the glacier, visible from the medial moraine. Traill and his successors followed the right bank up to a cave (14,180), whence Schlagintweit made his start at 2 A.M. on the 31st of May for the actual crossing, following a side glacier, and so reaching a col (17,700) whence they easily reached the upper snow-field. The crossing in Schlagintweit's time was not difficult until the descent to the Lwanl Glacier was reached; but Schlagintweit had difficulties also from the porters' terror of Nandā Devī, the dreaded Durgā, which must always be a very serious factor to take into consideration in any attempt to go high with local men.

In 1925, Mr. and Mrs. Ruttledge, with General Wilson and Major Carfrae, attempted to cross the pass from the Phurkiyā side. They crossed the glacier to the right bank, about a mile above the snout, camped at Schlagintweit's cave, and arrived at the col from which Traill had reached the upper snow-field. They found that the retreat of the glacier had there made the névé inaccessible, and that the only way to it was by a steep cliff of rotten rock, about eight hundred feet high. Bad weather forced them to retreat; but Mr. Ruttledge thinks that to have attempted the cliff with the porters which they then had would have been dangerous. In August of 1926, Mr. and Mrs. Ruttledge and General Wilson succeeded in crossing the pass from the Lwanl valley. General Wilson's account of the journey is to be found in the Alpine Journal of May, 1928. It is as easy to get moderately high on the Lwanl Glacier as on the Pindari; on each side the difficulties begin about a thousand feet below the pass. The party selected a steep rib of rock which ran up to the ridge of 20,740 which formed one side of the pass, high above it. Near the top they found the strata against them; and

they had to make a traverse of three hundred yards to reach the ridge, being fortunately able to chip away the edges of the lower slabs so as to produce an edge 'with the appearance of a closed book' which gave foot-hold. From the ridge they descended to the pass, whence they went south-west for a mile and a half, keeping over towards the base of 21,624, and so came to the head of the cliff, at the foot of which they had stopped in the previous year. The descent from the ridge (to quote General Wilson), is eight hundred feet of real abomination. It is composed of rock in every stage of decay and looseness; and to avoid dislodging the horrible stuff was almost an impossibility. The party got safely through; and when they reached Schlagintweit's col their troubles were over.

In October of 1930, having been driven back from the northern side of the Himālaya by bad weather, we ascended the Lwanl Glacier, with the idea of making a dash for the pass if conditions should be favourable. We had sent a second camp from Martoli, to be joined on the other side, in order to avoid the necessity of being accompanied by terrified porters. Given favourable weather conditions, the crossing would not thus be impracticable, in spite of the cold and the comparative shortness of the day. As we passed up the valley from Lwanl, the rock at Narspan Patti (13,200), under which Schlagintweit took shelter in his descent in 1855, stood out, with masses of cut faggots left near it, which would have been a welcome sight to anybody coming down the deserted Lwanl valley. Higher up, snow began to fall; and it was snowing hard before the tents were pitched. At the head of the Pindari Glacier and on Nandā Devī the snow must have been heavy, since we heard all night tremendous avalanches on the mountain, and on the following morning snow was standing out in great cornices at every bulge in the rocks approaching the pass. A black storm cloud stood over Nandā Devi, forming a background for the eastern peak, by which the lower ragged fringes of the cloud were concealed, and covering the western peak, over which a storm was evidently raging, moving in our direction. Less than a week earlier we





The Pindari Glacier (21624).



had learned on the Untadhurā what a blizzard might be like at these heights; and although it would have probably not been so bad in the comparatively sheltered Lwanl valley, it was sufficiently obvious that the upward route was barred, and that unless we promptly moved downwards towards Lwanl and the Gorīgangā, we were likely to be very uncomfortable. While preparations for moving camp were being made, the sun broke through the clouds for a few minutes, shining on the great eastern peak, making the lighter clouds which veiled her lower slopes almost transparent, and giving an opportunity for the photograph which was reproduced in the last number of the Journal. The scene was one of singular beauty, with the great black cloud forming a background for Nandā Devī; but an alternative caption for the picture might well have been found from Longfellow:

Try not the Pass, the old man said, Dark lowers the tempest overhead.

During the present year (1932) Mr. Hugh Ruttledge spent the hot weather with the guide Emile Rey of Courmayeur, endeavouring to find a way through to the Nandā Devī basin over the shoulder of 21,624, to the east of the upper snow-field of the Pindari Glacier. The attempt was not successful, which may have been due to the abnormal weather conditions. There had been practically no winter snow during the previous cold weather; but from the beginning of May the weather was bad, and this, together with the effect of the new snow on the ice, made climbing more than usually difficult. But even when allowance is made for adverse weather conditions, the fact that two such experienced mountaineers failed to obtain even a sight of the basin must be held to indicate that this route is practically impossible.

¹ Ante, p. 128.

II.—Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga era.

By G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, registered these plates as No. 5 of App. A. of his annual report for 1918-19. They were in the possession of Mr. Chilukūri Narayanarao then. From what was given in the record, I found out that the plates were important to unravel the mystery enveloping the era of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga. I waited long for the publication of these plates, but it never happened. Despairing that such an important document would be neglected, I prepared this paper from the clear estampages supplied to me by the Madras Epigraphist's office.

The set consists of three copperplates each measuring 7" by $2\frac{3}{4}$ " and in each plate is a hole $\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter near the left side. The edges seem to have been beaten in to raise them into rims, so that the writing might not be damaged. Consequently, the writing is in good preservation. The plates seem to have been strung on a ring which I have not seen, but I shall quote here what the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy had noted with regard to it. 'The ring has a diameter of about 3". Its ends are fixed into the thick ornamental bracket at the bottom of the seal which is about 1½" in diameter. On the surface of the latter are carved in hollow, the sun, the crescent and the dagger in the slanting position at the top and below these a seated bull on a platform facing the proper right with an ankuśa in the vertical position in its front. The seal is shaped like a small bell from the bracket supporting it.' The total weight of the plates, ring and seal is said to be 188 tolas.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of the 1st and the last plates and on both sides of the second. The characters are mostly Nāgari, but there is a mixture of Oriya letters

also, e.g. ए, च, ग, भ, ख, प, प and फ all through the inscription. More than one form is used for some letters, e.g. for na three different forms are used. cf. l. l प्रानु; l. 7 नत; l. 20 सम्मान. Similarly for ra cf. l. 29 रेवन; राज्त; cf. y in yच; l. 6 विपुस; l. 7 सूपाझ.

The language is Sanskrit; but there is a sprinkling of Oriya words in the end. 1. 23 चुनगोटि a dilapidated one; 1. 23 गाड़=a brook; 1. 29 पोड़ागूर=a waste land; 1. 32 देखू गन=1½ hundred; राजन=a soldier; 1. 20 वड़ in वड़निंद. The scribe did not pay any regard to the rules of Sandhi; in certain places whole expressions are left out. All such mistakes are corrected in the transcribed text by means of footnotes.

This charter is of the reign of a Ganga King, Madhu-Kāvārnna and it begins in the same way as the grants of the earlier Ganga Kings, just as if it were meant to record a grant by that king himself.

'Om! Hail! From the victorious camp of Kalinganagara, which, charming with the delights of all seasons, resembles the town of the immortals—the son of Sriman Anantavarma Deva and the ornament of the spotless family of the river of the gods (सुरपरित् कुलामलतिलकः), the Mahārājādhirāja Madhu-Kāvārnna Dēva who is freed from the stains of Kali age by doing obeisance to the two lotus-feet of the holy Gokarna Swāmin, the parent of the movable and the immovable, the unique architect who has constructed the whole world (the god) with the moon for his crest jewel, who is installed on the summit of the spotless golden hill of Mahēndra, in the many caves contained in the stomach of which inhabit the famous tāpasās (hermits) who had achieved siddhi (the King) whose feet are made lustrous by the rays of light shed by the crest jewels of many rulers whose heads were bent by his valour and who had subdued all his enemies by (such means of) prowess (as) the five-fold sounds.'

Then instead of recording some command of the King so described, the inscription in ll. 10-12 tells us that, in the reign of this King, the lord of Paṭṭyāpura in the Tristhali (situated) in the west of the flourishing Triśala in the region of Kalinga, Śrīman Śrī Lakshmana Ramadēva, who was the very

embodiment of Bhairava in torturing the enemies by the bewildering five-fold sound which he had achieved and who was the ornament of the Kuḍāla family (ll. 12–18) having combined the three villages of Patugrāma, Hondoro Vāda and Morakhini into (one) Vaiśya agrahāra, and having freed the village, including all land and water heads within the four landmarks, of all molestations from rānakās, rājaputras, district officer (vishayapati) and all those that are dependent on the royal feet for their maintenance, and also having ordained that it should not be entered into by the district officers (chēṭa) (the lord) conferred on Śrī Erapa Nāyaka, the ornament of the spotless family of merchants and the son of Paramamāhēśvara. Śrī Mañchi Nāyaka, the devout worshipper of the feet of his father and mother, who had originally come from Paṭugrama and resided at Dantipura.

Then the boundaries of the newly formed agrahāra are given in Il. 19-29. Perhaps the lands mentioned in Il. 28-29 were not included within the boundaries referred to above. They are, the field of 200 murayas (left out) for the maintenance of a charitable house (अव); the waste land of (the village) Döli-mrga-pēnṭa; the farm of Rēvana Rāutu in the Gölipaṭala and the dry land of Apāvi.

Ll. 29-32 contain the usual imprecatory verses. Then again (l. 32) it is stated (both in words and figures) that one hundred and fifty (150) silver coins were paid; but to whom it was paid it is not stated.

The date of the grant is given in 1.33. It is written in figures as 526 of the prosperous victorious era of the (family of) the Gangas.

The writer of the grant (ll. 33-34) was Madhusudana, son of Madhava and an inhabitant of Kalinganagara. The scribe's land is said to be 40 murayas. Akshaśāli Ranāma dictated it (l. 35).

The word muraya requires some explanation. It appears to denote sum unit of grain measure. The same unit is mentioned in the Chicacole plates of Satyavarmadēva.¹ The

Chikkālavalasa plates of Vajrahastadeva III mention mura as a unit of measurement. But the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahastadēva III ² call this measure by the name of muraka. Both muraka and muraya seem to have been derived from mura which means an encircling with wood 3 or some material. A thing made of an encircling wood or metal is in Sanskrit called muraja. In Telugu and Oriya parts the same name is applied both to the grain measure and the solid part of a drum (सदङ). In Oriya it is called माण. Similarly मुरज might have been a common name both for the encircling part of the drum and the grain measure. Mura and muraka were used probably in Kalinga. In Oriya there are two separate symbols for the palatal and the gutteral 'ya'; the former is pronounced almost like 'ja' in the beginning of a word or syllable, e.g. यस्य of Sanskrit becomes जस्य in Oriya mouths यो हरेति consequently is written as जो हरेति; at the end of a syllable or word a retains its original sound. So the Sanskrit word muraya becomes muraja in Oriya.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, Kalinganagara has been identified with the modern Mukhalingam. The other places cannot be identified now. So the Tristhali and Triśala cannot be identified at present.

The date of this grant is important. Because this is a charter in which the name of a King is similar to the one given in the Kalinga Ganga genealogies and the date is given in the Kalinga Ganga era. Thus both by synchronism and by astronomical calculations, can be discovered the date when the Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Śaka was begun. The date of the grant is given in the words, 'Ganga Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Samvatsara ankēnāpi 526, i.e. the 526th year of the Ganga era which is the same as is found in all the ancient grants of the Kalinga Kings.

This grant, by stating that the Ganga King Madhu-Kāvārnna was ruling in the year 526 of that era, offers to us a clue, surer than palæography, to establish with the help of mathematics, the year when the era had been started. The

¹ Bhārati, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 138 ff. ² E.I., Vol. IX, No. 11.

³ Sanskrit Dictionary by H. H. Wilson.

name of the King mentioned in this grant is similar to some of those stated in the genealogies supplied to us by the charters issued by the Ganga Kings of the 11th century of the Christian era. One Madhu-Kāmārnava is said to have reigned on the throne immediately before Trikalingādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva. In all the Kalinga genealogies this Madhu-Kāmārnava is stated to have reigned for 19 years and then Trikalingādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva ascended the throne in S.S. 960. This Madhu-Kāmārnava seems to have reigned from S.S. 942 to 960. Consequently the 526th year of the present document must be one of the years of this period.

Dr. Fleet who always sought to establish facts on more precise basis than on palæography and synchronism only, which are merely suggestive, laid out a plan to discover, with mathematical exactitude, the first year of the Ganga era. In editing the Parlakimidi plates of Indravarma 1 dated 91st year of the Ganga era, he said, 'The clue to the date may perhaps be found in the record in l. 10 of the grant of the year 128, of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month of Mārgaśira. This (eclipse) coupled with the record in I. 19 of the present grant, that in the 91st year of the era, the month of Māgha included 30 solar days—which is not always the case may very possibly enable us hereafter, by means of detailed calculations, to determine precisely which of the eclipses mentioned is the one intended.' Here he laid out a plan to discover the origin of the era with the help of the astronomical occurrences recorded in the several grants. By the word 'hereafter', Dr. Fleet hoped that more grants recording the eclipses or other astronomical occurrences might be brought to light,—and so it happened. Subsequently many copperplate grants of the Eastern Ganga Kings have been discovered and some of them record astronomical occurrences, which, taken as landmarks, may lead to the original point of starting. All such records together with the two noted by the doctor are given below in their chronological order that they may be easily available for reference.

¹ I.A., Vol. XVI, 1887.

- 1. The Kalinga grant of Indravarma¹ records a lunar eclipse that had occurred on the full-moon day of Margaśira. The charter is dated 15th Chaitra 128th year. The recorded lunar eclipse had occurred on the full-moon day of the month of Margaśira of 127 (Ganga era).
- 2. Tekkali plates of Dānārnavā's son Indravarma,² dated 154th year (Gaṅga era) record a solar eclipse.
- 3. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Kalinga grant of Dēvēndravarma, dated 251st year (Ganga era).
- 4. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Alamanda plates of Rajēndravarma's son Anantavarma,⁴ dated 304th year (Ganga era).
- 5. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman,⁵ dated 351st year (Ganga era).
- 6. A solar eclipse is recorded in the Chidivalasa copperplate grant of Dēvēndravarma, son of Bhūpāndravarma dated 397th year (Ganga era).

In the original plates the date is given as fifty-one in words only; but from the characters both Fleet and Kielhorn doubted the truth of it. I may here quote what the editor of the grant has said (I.A., Vol. XIII, p. 273).

'These three grants of Dēvēndravarma and Satyavarma are shown, by the characters in which they are engraved, to be of later date than the three grants of Indravarma. Consequently, the fifty-first year, which is quoted in one of the grants of Dēvendravarma and in the grant of Satyavarma cannot be referred to the same epoch with the dates of 91, 128, and 146. From this it is clear that the grant of the Dēvēndravarma of the 51st year cannot be assigned to the first or the second centuries of the Ganga era.' Though the father of Satyavarma of the Chicacole plates of the 351st year (Ganga era) was a Dēvēndravarma also, yet he cannot be identified with the Devendravarma of the plates dated 51st year. For, father and son could not have issued a grant for the same solar eclipse of the same year and two solar eclipses in a year are very rare. This Devendravarma of the 51st year may be the same as the Dēvēndravārma of the Vizagapatam plates, dated 254th year (Ganga era). So I take the year 51 to be a mistake for 251.

¹ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 119 ff.

² E.I., Vol. XVIII, No. 31.

³ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 273 ff.

⁴ E.I., Vol. III, No. 3.

⁵ I.A., Vol. XIII, pp. 11 ff.

⁶ J.A.H.R.S., Vol. II, pp. 146 ff.

These are the eclipses recorded in the charters. In addition to these the ephemeral records also may be culled from some of them. They also serve as guides to lead us to the point of origin.

- 7. The Parlakimidi plates of Indravarma ¹ show that in the 91st year of the era, the month of Māgha (solar) included 30 days. This is a rare thing.
- 8. The Chicacole plates of Devendravarma 2 dated 183rd year records a gift on the 8th tithi of Māgha when the sun was proceeding northwards (माचमास्यद्गयने) and the document having been engraved on 20th Śrāvana 183, the date of the gift must have been in the previous year, i.e. the 8th tithi of Māgha of the year 182 of the Ganga era. The word 'udagayane', shows that the ceremonies connected with the turning of the sun to begin his northward march were done on that 8th tithi of Magha of the year 182. Ordinarily, ceremonies are performed on the 7th tithi of Magha because the sastras prescribe them. It is an unusual thing and it is not in accordance either with śastras or custom to perform any ceremonies on the 8th tithi of Māgha. Religious performances are prescribed for the 7th tithi which is called the Rathtasaptami, Viśoka-saptami and also Śarkarāphala-saptami. It is considered to be as auspicious as a solar eclipse 'Surya-grahana tulyā-tu śuklā māghasya saptami'. That the custom of observing the Māgha-saptami ceremonies was in vogue amongst the Ganga kings of Kalinga is vouchsafed by the Kalinga grant of Indravarma, dated in the year 138 of their era. It records a gift on the 7th tithi of Māgha. It is not, therefore, customary to make any gifts on the 8th tithi of Māgha. It shows that the gifts or charities were made at the time when the 8th tithi became current. 'The general rule for civil purposes, as well as for some ordinary religious purposes for which no particular time of day happens to be prescribed, is that the tithi current at sunrise on a solar day gives its name and numeral to that day, and is coupled with its week-day.' And

¹ I,A., Vol. XVI, 1887.

³ Nirnayasindhu.

² E.I., Vol. III, No. 21.

also, 'At the time of the performance of religious ceremonies the current tithi, vāra, and all other particulars have to be pronounced'.¹ Considering in this light, the date of the gift recorded in the document intimates that the 8th tithi was current at the time of sunrise on that day and also that the 7th tithi of Māgha of that year had disappeared from the calendar. 'A tithi on which the sun does not rise is expunged and it is called a Kshaya.'² On the previous day the 6th tithi was current at the time of sun-rise; and the 8th tithi became current from the time of sun-rise; and the 8th tithi became current from the time of sunrise on that day on which the gift was made. The saptami tithi began and ended during the intervening period. Such saptami is said to be more auspicious than the one that has individual recognition.

पूर्वेक्ति घटिकादयं षष्टी सप्तमी च परेखः। चायवणादक्षोदयात्पूर्वम् समाप्यते तत्परम्॥ इति षष्टीयुतत्वसुक्तम्। तत्र षष्ट्यां सप्तमीचायम्। प्रवेष्ट्याऽक्षणोदये खानङ्कार्यम्॥ (मदनरते, भविष्टोत्तरे)

The 6th tithi should be current for about two ghatikas (after sunrise) on the previous day; and then the 7th tithi should commence and naturally by diminution, must expire before the dawn of the next day. Thus the 7th tithi is said to be combined with the 6th (madanaratna and Bhavishyōttara).

It is essential to bathe on the 7th tithi when it is current at dawn (arunodaya).

सूर्यग्रहणतुल्या तु शुक्का माघस्य सप्तमी । चरुणोदयवेलायां तस्यां सानमाहापलम् ॥

(चन्द्रिकायां विष्णुवचनात्) 4

It is said in Vishnuvachana mentioned in Chendrika, 'The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha is equal to a solar eclipse. To bathe at dawn when it is current gives great (good) result.'

¹ The Indian Calendar, p. 17.

² The Indian Calendar, p. 18. Readers that wish to know more regarding the tithi and their recognition in Hindu religious ceremonies may read art. 31, p. 16 of the Indian Calendar by Sewell.

³ Nirnayasindhu.

⁴ Nirnayasindhu.

So a Kshaya 7th tithi as pointed out above was current at the dawn only before the next sunrise. At sunrise the 8th tithi began and the gift recorded in the grant was stated to have been given on the 8th tithi though it had been intended for the 7th tithi.

The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha of the year 182 (Ganga era) must be Kshaya.

With the help of these eight-recorded events we can carry on detailed calculations on the years of the period of the Madhu-Kāmārnava's reign and may arrive at the year when the era began. It has already been shown that this Madhu-Kāmārnava VI reigned from S.S. 942–960. One of these years may correspond to the 526th year of the era. If so, the era must have begun in one of the years between S.S. 416–434.

1. The 127th year of the Ganga era must correspond to one of the years from S.S. 543 to 561. But the lunar eclipse of the full-moon-day of Margasira happened only in the years S.S. 546, 547, and 548 of this period. The other years are given up.

The initial year corresponding to each is S.S. 419, 420, and 421.

- 2. The solar eclipse recorded in the year 154 of the era, must happen in one of the years S.S. 573, 574, and 575. But in 574 there was no solar eclipse. Deleting it we get the two years S.S. 573 and 575 in each of which there was a solar eclipse. The initial year corresponding to each of these is S.S. 419 and 421.
- 3. The solar eclipse recorded in the year 251 must be seen in either S.S. 670 or 672 each of which is 251 years from each of S.S. 419 and 421. There was no solar eclipse in the year S.S. 670 nor was there one in S.S. 672.

By applying these three tests we could not get even one year that could satisfy the conditions. So not even one year of the period of Madhu-Kāmārnava VI corresponds to the year 526 of the Gaiga era. Consequently the Madhu-Kāvārnna of our plates cannot be identified with the Madhu-Kāmārnava VI of the genealogies.



Who can this Madhu-Kāvārnna of the charter under review be? As he bears all the panegyric of the Kings of the Ganga family and as he is said to be the Maharājā of the Ganga family, he must be one of those mentioned in the genealogies given in the copperplate grants of Anantavarma Chōḍagangadeva and his grandfather.

The Vizagapatam copperplate dated Śaka year 1040 of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva,¹ mentions, in the genealogy five Kings of the name of Kāmārnava and one of Madhu-Kāmārnava; though the last had a qualifying appellation of 'madhu' he is counted as the sixth along with the other previous Kings of the name of Kāmārnava. Again in the Vizagapatam copperplate grant dated S.S. 1057 ² of the same sovereign this Madhu-Kāmārnava is mentioned with the simple name of Kāmārnava. The son and successor of Anantavarma is mentioned as Kāmārnava VII as well as Madhu-Kāmārnava.³ From these observations it can be established that all the Kings that bore the name of Kāmārnava had the affix of Madhu to their names.

The Kshētramāhātunyam of Mukhalingam gives all the tradition connected with the place and its temple. It is in nine chapters and each of which is said to have been a part of the Skāndapurāna. The colophon which closes the last chapter may be cited here to vouchsafe the statement.

"इति श्रीस्तान्दपुराग्रे उत्तरखाडे स्तन्दागस्य-संवादे जयन्ती-चेत्रमाचात्र्ये भविष्यत्वथाखानद्वाम नवमोऽध्यायः॥"

The story given in this 9th chapter, closely coincides with the statement made in lines 60-63 of the Vizagapatam copperplate, dated Saka year 1040. This portion of the Skāndapurāṇa cannot be allotted to times subsequent to S.S. 1040. Since the fact that the tradition of the birth of Ísa in the linga form from a $madh\bar{u}ka$ tree is mentioned in the above grant, the purāna that recorded the tradition must have existed long before the time of the charter.

The earliest inscription existing in the temple of Mukha-

¹ I.A., Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff.

² I.A., Vol. XVIII, pp. 172 ff.

³ S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 1322.

lingam is dated in Śaka year 980. In it the god is mentioned by the name of Madhukēśa, a name which contains in itself the tradition regarding its origin. This inscription is of the time of Trikalingādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadēva who was crowned in S.S. 960. So the tradition (purāṇā) must have been in existence even prior to S.S. 960.

In this purāna, it is said,

धरण्यामित्त सर्वेषाम्मङ्गलानां सदास्पदम् । पट्टणं कटकाभित्वं जनानां सर्वसौत्वदम् । तत्पट्टणे महातेजो विष्णवर्धनपूर्वकः । मथकर्णे गजाधीणो महादेवो महावलः । गङ्गान्वयसमुद्भूतस्पर्वभास्त्रविष्णारदः ॥

It is further stated that this Madhu-karna, born in the Ganga family got the temple built out of the gold rained from heaven by the command of god Iśa. Sculptors and architects, as dexterous as Viśvakarma, were employed to build the temple and the city.

In this purāṇa, this King born in the Ganga family is spoken of as a 'gajādhīśa' (lord of elephants), a title not seen expressed in words in any of the copperplate grants. Yet, it may be observed that one Ganga sovereign had earned the fame of giving away elephants in charity. In the Vizagapatam copperplate dated Śaka year 1040, it is thus stated with regard to Vajrahasta IV:—

- 1.72. .. yad-datta danti sahasra.
- 1.73. dāna-vāriņa cha kuvalayam pankilam=āsīt.

The same sovereign is thus eulogised in the Vizagapatam copperplate dated S.S. 1057.

1. 12. . . . $y\bar{o}$ madagalita-gal $\bar{a}n$ =gaj $\bar{a}na$ (n) sahasram=arthibhyah samad $\bar{a}t$.

If Vajrahasta IV had not possessed a great number of elephants, how could he have earned the fame of the giver of elephants. So it is not a wonder if he was called a 'gajādhīśa'. This title does not seem to have been confined only to him. The elephant-goad shown on the seals of the Ganga Kings is a clear indication that they were the lords of elephants. Even

though this title is not included in the panegyric, yet the existence of the elephant-goad in the seal establishes the title of ' $gaj\bar{a}dh\bar{i}\dot{s}a$ ' to the Kings of the Ganga family. The ' $anku\dot{s}a$ ' shown in the seal affixed on the ring of the present charter proves that the Ganga King Madhu-Kāvārnna was a ' $gaj\bar{a}dh\bar{i}\dot{s}a$ '.

In the purāna the builder of the temple was named Madhukarņa; but the Vizagapatam copperplates dated S.S. 1040 name the same King, Kāmārnava. In the copperplate under review the name is written as Madhu-Kāvārnna. For exigencies of poetry, a syllable is omitted in one; scribe's negligence might have missed the last syllable in the present charter. Whatever might have been the correct form, it is a fact that the builder of the temple of Madhukēśa, had the prefix of 'madhu' to his name. For, the temple and the linga in it generally are named after their founder. The linga at Dākshārāma is called after Chalukya Bhima, its founder. Tradition says that the linga at Rāmēśvaram has been established by Rama of the Ikshvāku family and it is believed to suggest the name of its founder.

That the linga at Mukhalinga is called Madhukēśa shows clearly that its founder had the word Madhuka in his name. It is also known that some of the Kings of the Ganga family appended the word 'arnava' to their names. The names ending with 'arnava' are so common that the epigraphists were led to suggest that there were two sets of kings, 'varma' and 'arnava' amongst the Ganga Kings. The name of the founder seems, therefore, to have been Madhuka + arnava'

¹ मधुकः:=Sweet speaking (H. H. Wilson); अपेवः= Ocean. मधुकः + अपेवः=मधुक + उ + अपेवः (visarga preceded by अ (short) and followed by अ (short) is changed to अ which with the preceding अ is changed to ओ). So we get मधुको + अपेव or मधुकोऽपेव. But the writer changed ओ to अब and wrote मधुकावापे(व). The King's name, like Guṇārnava (an ocean of good qualities); Dānārnava (an ocean of charities) is Madhukavārnava (an ocean of sweet speech). By mistake or wrong conception the first two syllables were dropped and Kāvārnava was changed to Kāmārnava (an ocean of desires) which does not convey that dignified meaning as is conveyed by the names Guṇārnava and Dānārnava. In Madhukāvārna when the first two syllables are dropped, Kāvārna remains; and then 'vā'

which becomes Madhukāvārnava. This is written as Madhukāyārna in the charter and Madhukarna in the purāna. These two records seem to be contemporary to the founder of the temple. But in later times the first word is dropped and the Kings were given the name Kāmārnava. From the inscriptions found in the temple of Mukhalingam, the Ganga Kings seem to have had great regard for this god till the time of Rājarāia II (S.S. 1092-1114. Vide No. 1142, S.I.I., vol. v). The absence of inscriptions subsequent to S.S. 1114 shows that the temple and its god became neglected. Till this time we find that some of the scions of the Ganga family were named after the Madhukēsa. But after S.S. 1114 the faith of the Kings was transferred to the god Narasimha or to the Sun-god at Könārk. This is the reason why we find the Kings after S.S. 1114 were named either Narasimha or Bhanu. It is the faith of the man that generally makes him give names to his offspring. So amongst the Kings of the Ganga family, prior to S.S. 1114 are found the kings named after the god at Mukhalingam. From this discussion it can be observed that all the Kings named Kāmārnava in the genealogies really bore the name of Madhu-Kāmārnava. Now we have to identify the Madhukānārnva of the present grant with one of the so-called Kāmārnavas of the genealogy. This identification must be made only by seeing by detailed calculations into which of the periods of reign of these Kāmārnavas will this year 526 exactly fit in.

But before the detailed calculations are carried out, it is first necessary to express in Śaka years the period of reign of

is changed to 'mā' to give it a sense. The name Madhu-Kāmārnava given in the genealogies to the predecessor of Trikalingādhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva means 'an ocean desiring liquor' which is not an honourable one. Madhukah+arnavah gives a more honourable idea than Madhu+kāmah+arnavah. So Madhukārna which is the correct grammatical form of Madhukāvārna appears to have been the name of the Kings mentioned by the name of Kāmārnava. As such, the important part of the name 'Madhuka' is taken to name the linga form founded by the King. Madhuka+īsa=Madhukēsa, is the name of the god found in the inscriptions. The puranic name 'Madhukarnah' is made of Madhukah+arnah which means water (arnah: अक्षेत्रिक्विप्राचीरम् Amarakośa) of sweet speech. The medial ā is shortened for metre.

each King and the basis for this is supplied to us by the regnal vears of each King given in the genealogies. The charters of the time of Vijrahastadeva begin the genealogy from Gunamahārnava and some of the time of Chodaganga are almost a copy of the charters of his grandfather. But the Vizagapatam copperplate grant of S.S. 1040 traces the pedigree from Kāmārnava I; it omits Vajrahasta III but introduces two Kings, Jitānkuśa and Kaligalankuśa in his place. By this change there arose a difference in the regnal years so much that the total period of all the Kings has fallen short by 24 years. When the period of reign of each King is expressed in Śaka vears and the calculation is taken backwards from S.S. 960. the year of the coronation of Trikalingadhipati Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva, a discrepancy of 18 years is felt. Then in addition to this, there is the peculiarity of the regnal years specially in vogue in the Kalinga of the Ganga Kings.

The peculiarity of the system was first observed by Babu Manomohan Chakravarti while writing the chronology of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Orissa.¹ This is called the anka or samasta system. Sewell also in his Hindu calendar speaks of this system. The peculiarities of this system are given below:—

- 1. 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) are omitted.
- 2. The last anka year of one King and the first anka year of the succeeding King (i.e. 2) fall in the same year.
- 3. The year begins on the day of Sunīya, Simha (Bhādrapada) Śukla Dwādasi.

When this system became adapted in the Kalinga cannot be said now. Babu M. M. Chakravarti's Chronology of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Orissa begins from the time of Chodagangadēva. Such a complicated system could not have come into vogue all on a sudden. It could not have developed even in one or two generations.

2. The stone inscriptions ² of the time of *Trikalingādhipati* Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva at Mukhalingam give the date in

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, No. 2, pp. 97 ff.

regnal years. The inscription No. 1133 states that the charity recorded therein was made during the 35th year of the King. There is discrepancy in the copperplate grants. Two Vizagapatam grants assign 33 years while the one dated S.S. 1040 give only 30 years to this Vajrahastadēva. The 39 regnal years give 33 in actual figures. This shows that the anka system was in vogue during the time of the grandfather of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva. Consequently the years given against the name of each King mentioned in the genealogy given in the charters of Vajrahasta V are all according to the anka system.

3. The Mandasa plates of Anantavarmadēva¹ dated in Śaka year 913 give the regnal year according to the aṅka system, e.g. samasta pandraro 15.

From these evidences² it may be inferred that the anka or samasta system had been in vogue in Kalinga from times

¹ Above Vol. XVII, pp. 175 ff.

² Some scholars are rather reluctant to admit that the regual years given in the genealogies were calculated according to the anka system. They put forth as an argument that Kāmārnava V is said to have reigned only for half-year and that according to the anka system it ought not to have been so. Those that have till now made a study of the characteristics of the system nowhere mentioned that half-year should not be mentioned. The anka year begins on the 12th day of the bright half of Bhadrapada. Sewell observes, 'it is also important to note that when a prince dies in the middle of an anko year, his successor's 1st anko which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th day of Bhadrapad-suddha following; consequently the last regnal year of the one and the first of the other occupy one year and the one year is dropped in effect'. If a King ascended the throne after 12th Bhādrapada-suddha had passed, and died after a few months before the next month of Bhadrapada had reached, how could his period of reign be counted. As he was not on the throne on the preceding 12th day of Bhādrapada-suddha that year goes to be counted in the period of his predecessor; because he did not live till the next beginning of the anka year, that year is calculated in the period of his successor. So he naturally loses his locus-standi though he was on the throne for some months. The anka system does not preclude a part of a year from calculation. Such might have been the case with Kāmārnava V. Had he lived till after the beginning of the anka year, his period of reign would have been counted as two. But that did not happen. So his regnal period is expressed as half-year, that he might not lose his place

unknown. If more copperplate grants of the ancient Kings of the family are discovered in future, more evidence for this can be gathered.

With these preliminary observations, I prepare a table showing the period of each King in Saka years. The regnal years of each King are first reduced to actual number of years and the first year in the reign of a King is taken to be last of his predecessor.

List of the Kings of Ganga family showing the period of each in Śaka years.

GENEALOGY GIVE	E VIZA-	GENEALOGY MODIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NADAYAM PLATES OF TRI-					
of Anantavarma Choda-				KALINGĀDHIPATI ANANTAVARMA VAJRAHASTADEVA (V).			
GANGADEVA.							
1	<u>72</u>	jë	Period of reign in Śaka years.		ρΩ)er	g. s.
	years	Actual number of years.	riod of reign Śaka years.		years	Actual number of years.	Period of reign in Śaka years.
Name of the		d num	A A	Name of the	gnal yez (arika).	al num years.	44 %
King.	Regnal (ank	Y E	K a	King.	Regnal (ank	4 E	d c ka
Ū	1 gg &	g g	Sa io		1800	E &	, 10 8
	8	9	Per		8	9	Per
			Н.			7	H
l. Kāmārnava I	36	30	718-747	Kāmārnava I	36	30	700-729
2. Dānārnava .	40	33	747-779	Dānārnava	40	33	729-761
3. Kāmārnava	40	33	141-119	Danamava	70	00	120-101
II	50	41	779-819	Kāmārnava II	50	41	761-801
4. Ranārnava	5	4	819-822	Ranārnava	5	4	801-804
5. Vajrahasta II	15	13	822-834	Vajrahasta II	15	13	804-816
6. Kāmārnava	10	10	022 004	· ajzanasta zz. t	1		002 010
III	19	16	834-849	Kāmārnava III	19	16	816-831
7. Gunārnava II		22	849-870	Gunārnava II	27	22	831-852
8. Jitamkusá	15	13	870-882)			
9. Kaligalām-				Vajrahasta III	44	36	852-887
kusa	12	10	882-891)			
10. Gundama I	7	5	891-895	Gundama I	3	2	887-888
ll. Kāmārnava			1			1	
IV	25	21	895-915	Kāmārnava IV	34	28	888-915
Vinayāditya	3	2	915-916	Vinayāditya	3	2	915-916
Vajrahasta		1					
IV	35	29	916-943	Vajrahasta IV	35	29	916-943
l4. Kāmārnava						,	040.044
v	10100	1 2 2	943-944	Kāmārnava V	123	$\frac{1}{2}$	943-944
15. Gundama II	3	2	944-945	Gundama II	3	Z	944-945
16. Madhu-Kā-			0.00	Madhu-Kāmār-	10	16	045 060
mārnava VI	19	16	945-960	nava VI	19	10	945-960
		1			1		

amongst the Kings that had ruled over the Kalinga. It is not against the anka system to give a fraction of a year for the period of a King of this kind of reign.

The last year of the reign of Madhu-Kāmārnava VI was the year in which Vajrahasta V was crowned King.

From the above two tables it may be observed that there is much difference in the reigning periods of Kings from Kāmārnava I to Kāmārnava IV; and that Kāmārnava I reigns from S.S. 718-747 in one and from S.S. 700-729 in the other. Such discrepancies can be found with regard to other matters also in these sets of copperplate grants. Vajrahasta V, the grandfather of Anantavarma Chōdaganga is said to be the son of Madhu-Kāmārnava VI in the Vizagapatam copperplate grant of S.S. 1040 of Anantavarma Chōdagangadēva; while the other plates state that he was the son of Kāmārnava, the eldest son of Vajrahasta (IV). The presence of such discrepancies. in these plates, show that they are not very reliable documents. but may be accepted as guides to work out the historical truths connected with the Eastern Ganga dynasty. Consequently. the period of the reign of any King in the list may be taken to begin with the earliest year and end with the last year; i.e. the reign of Kāmārnava I begins in Śaka year 718 in one and in Saka year 700 in the other; similarly his reign ends in Saka year 747 and in Śaka year 729 in the second. So Kāmārnava I may be supposed to have ruled from S.S. 700 to 747 making a compromise between the data.

It has already been shown that every king named as Kāmārnava in the list, really bore the name of Madhu-Kāmārnava. From amidst these six Kings that bore the name of Madhu-Kāmārnava we have to discover the one into whose reign the year 526 of the Ganga era fits; for that purpose we have to carry on detailed calculations on the period of each of these Madhu-Kāmārnavas. Since we have already tested the years of the rule of Madhu-Kāmārnava VI and have failed, it may be now given up and detailed calculations may be carried on the years in the period of the reign of each of the remaining Kings of that name. The fifth King of that name may also be omitted as he had not reigned even for one full year. We shall take up the period of reign of Kāmārnava IV. His reign seems to lie between S.S. 888 and 915. If this King be really the Madhu-Kāvārnna of our plates, the year 526 of

the Ganga era must be one of the years between S.S. 888 and 915.

Then the beginning of the era may be found between S.S. 362 and 389.

1. The 127th year of the era may be found between S.S. 489 and 516.

As it is said that a lunar eclipse 1 had occurred on the full-moon day of Margasira month of the 127th year of the era, we have to pick up those years only, during the Margasira month of which there was a lunar eclipse and reject the others.

On the full-moon day of the month of Margasira of S.S. 500, 501, and 510 only there was a lunar eclipse. Since each of these three years bear the qualification to be accepted as the 127th year of the era, that era must have begun in one of the years S.S. 373, 374 or 383.

- 2. In the 154th year of the era, a solar eclipse is mentioned. So the 154th year from each of the above is S.S. 527, 528, 537; but there was no solar eclipse in the last. So we have still the two years S.S. 373, 374 for the initial year of the era.
- 4. A solar eclipse is mentioned in the year 304 of the era. So 304th year from each of these is S.S. 677 and 678. In the first there was no solar eclipse. Since there happened a solar eclipse in S.S. 678 we obtain S.S. 374 as the initial year for the present.
- 6. A solar eclipse is mentioned to have occurred in the year 397 of the era. So the 397th year from 374 is 771 but no solar eclipse occurred in this year. Consequently the year S.S. 374 cannot have been the beginning of the Ganga era. So, the year 526 cannot be one in the reign of Kāmārnava IV.

Similarly, detailed calculations are carried on the years in the regnal period of Kāmārnava III and it is found that not even one year of his period was suited to be the 526th year of the Ganga era. I now propose to work in detail on the years of the reign of Kāmārnava II.

¹ All these calculations are in accordance with Sewell's Indian Calendar and Swami Kannu Pillai's Indian Chronology and Prof. Jacobis' Tables.

Kāmārnava II, S.S. 761-819.

One of the years of this period may be the 526th year of the era. Then the beginning of the era must be in one of the years between S.S. 235 and 293.

1. A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of the month of Mārgaśira of the year 127 of the era is recorded. If the beginning of the era existed between S.S. 235 and S.S. 293, then the 127th year of the era must be sought for between S.S. 362 and S.S. 420. But the said lunar eclipse is found in the Margaśira of S.S. 370, 371, 380, 389, 398, 416, 417, 418.

Corresponding to each of these the initial year is 243, 244, 253, 262, 271, 289, 290, 291.

- 2. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 154 of the era. The 154th year from each of the above initial years is 397, 398, 407, 416, 425, 443, 444, 445, but there was no solar eclipse in the year 398. So the corresponding year 244 cannot be the initial year of the era. The years 243, 253, 262, 271, 289, 290, 291 still remain.
- 3. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 251 of the era. The 251st year correspondingly is 494, 504, 513, 522, 540, 541, 542. Amongst these there was no solar eclipse in the year 504. So the year 253 cannot be the beginning of the era. The other years still remain.
- 4. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 304 of the era. The 304th year from each of the remaining initial years is 566, 575, 593, 594. The years, in which there was no solar eclipse of the 304th year, are scored off. So the years that still remain as initial years are 262, 271, 289, 290.
- 5. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 351 of the era. The 351st year from each of the above initial years is 622, 641. The years scored off show that there was no solar eclipse. Still we have to choose the initial year from 271 and 290.
- 6. A solar eclipse is recorded in the year 397 of the era. The 397th year from each of the above two years is 668, 687. There was no solar eclipse in the year 687. A solar eclipse happened in 668. So the one year 271 remains for the initial year and we shall see if it satisfies the other tests.



7. The solar Māgha in the 91st year of the Kalinga era is said to have 30 days.

91st year from 271 is S.S. 362. In this year the sun entered makara at 28 gh 48 v.gh on the 18th December and entered Kumbha at 55 gh 48 v.gh on 16th January.

Since the entrance into makara was before sun-set on the 18th December, 18th December was the 1st day of the solar month and the 16th January was the last day of it. Consequently 14 days of December and 16 days of January make up the 30 days of the solar Māgha month of the year S.S. 362.

The year S.S. 271 satisfies this condition also.

8. The 7th tithi of the bright half of Māgha in the year 182 was Kshaya, which is also very rare.

182nd year from 271 is S.S. 453. In this year in the bright half of the month of Māgha, the 6th tithi ended at Ogh. 36 v.gh (Lanka time) after sunrise on the 31st December; then the 7th tithi began. Yet that whole day was reckoned as the 6th tithi. The 7th tithi ended at ogh. O. vgh. (Lanka time) on the 1st January, i.e. ended before sunrise on the day succeeding 31st December. When the sun rose the 8th tithi began and consequently, the whole of 1st January became reckoned as the 8th tithi. So the 7th tithi lost its reckoning and therefore was Kshaya. Since the 7th tithi of the month of Māgha of the year, S.S. 453 was Kshaya, the year S.S. 271 satisfies this condition also.

Thus the year S.S. 271 satisfies all the eight recorded occurrences. It must be the year in which the Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya era of the Eastern Ganga dynasty was begun. This year will certainly satisfy the recorded occurrences that may come to light in future, provided those records are correctly read and interpreted.

Since the beginning of the Ganga era is now discovered to have begun in the Śaka Samvat 271, the date 526th year of the Ganga era corresponds to the Śaka Samvat 797. In this year was reigning on the Kalinga throne Mahārājādhirāja Madhu-Kāvārnadēva (Kāmārnava II of the Vizagapatam plates) and he was the son of Anantavarmadēva.

A copperplate grant under the name of 'the Simhapura copperplate grant of the Kadamba King Dharmakhēdi was recently published in the J.A.H.R.S., Vol. III, pp. 171ff. The original is now preserved in the Calcutta Museum from which I obtained a clear impression of the document. It states that Dēvēndravarma, son of Anantavarma, and the sovereign of the whole Kalinga was reigning at Kalinganagara in the year 520 of the Kadamba-Ganga Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Śaka. This charter is only 6 years earlier than the charter above discussed and both the charters belong to the reign of the same The copperplate record under review Kalinga sovereign. states that Madhu-Kāvārnna was the son of Anantavarma and the Simhapur plates state that Devendravarma was the son of Anantavarma. Consequently, Madhu-Kāvārnna appears to have borne the imperial title of Dēvēndravarma. Here is another instance to prove that the son and successor of an Anantavarma was called Dēvēndravarma.

From these two sets of plates it becomes evident that Mahārājādhirāja Dēvēndravarma Madhu-Kāvārnnadeva ruled over the Kalinga during the period from 520 to 526 of the Ganga era or from S.S. 791 to S.S. 797 or from A.D. 869 to A.D. 875-76.

TEXT.

First plate.

- 1. खिल्त $^1[_{\parallel}^*]$ खमरपुर $[_1]$ नुकारिग्ग $[_{\mp}^*]$ सर्व्व $(_{\eta}^*]$ खरमगी- $_{2}^*[_{\eta}^*]$ विजयवतो $_{2}^*[_{\eta}^*]$ किलिङ्गन $_{3}^*]$ -
- 2. गरवासकात् प्रसिधसिध³तापस[1*]ध्यासितकन्दरोदरदरि महेन्द्राचलामलक-
- 3. नक(गि⁴)रिग्निखरप्रतिस्तितस्य च(र)।च[र*]ग्रुरो [स्*]सकल-स्वननिर्माग्रैक-

¹ Before this there is spiral sign.

² Read oan:

³ Read प्रसिद्धसिद्ध

⁴ The originally inscribed is beaten in and this letter is again written; it is not quite clear.

- 4. सुच¹धार स²प्राङ्कचुड़ामणे भेगवतो गोकर्साखामिनखरणक-
- 5. मलयुगलप्रणामाद्रपगतसक्तकाक्ष्मो गङ्गाम-
- 6. लकुलतिलक [प्*] श्रीमा अनन्तबस्व देव वतातस्य पुत्रो विपुल-
- 7. विक्रमानतानेकभूपालमी[िल*]मिर्ग्यं म⁶(री?)चि(का)रिञ्ज-[त*]पादपद्मयुगलः
- 8. विमलचित्तार्चितस्तरियाग्रेषा न्यञ्चग्रव्दादिप्रताप [स*] सुरस-

Second plate: First side.

- 9. रित्कुलामलमचाराजाधिराज[प्र*]श्रीमा[न्*] मधुकावार्स्यदेव [:*]कुप्रलि[॥]कलि-
- 10. ङ्गमख्ल प्रतिवधा चिखलिपाञ्चात्यास्तसि चिखलि⁸पाञ्चापुर-परमे-
- 11. श्ररः[:*]समधिगतपञ्चमञ्चाप्रव्दितिमल⁹परसोधेणप्रवन्त¹⁰भैरव [प्र*]श्रीमा[न्*]
- 12. कुभाववधा 11 कुवितवक [ध्र*]श्री[म*]स्वद्यागराम देव[:*]पटुिंग-ग्रामे-
- 13. यस दन्तपुरवान्तव वैश्वकुलवङ्ग [प्र*]श्रीमश्चिनाय [स्*]त-
- 14. स्य सुनृ[:*] परममाहेश्वर[ो*] मातापिद्धपादानुध्यात एरप-नायक
- 15. स्व पद्रयम हो खरवड़ो मोर खियो चयग्रा[म*] समेत वैश्वय-
- 16. ग्रहार्श्वला¹² सप्रदत्तिति¹⁸।* राखकराजपुत्रविषयपति सम

¹ Read सूत्र

² Read ग्रमाङ्गचूड़ा

³ Read श्रीमान

⁴ Read oak

⁵ Read देवः तस्य

⁶ Read मणिम

⁷ From विसन्त to भ्रेपा the line is obscure.

⁸ From प्रतिवधा to चियां is another obscure line.

⁹ Read तुमुख

¹⁰ Read प्रत्यच

¹¹ Read कुसाखवंश

¹² Read usits an

¹³ Read सम्प्रदत्तिति

Second plate: Second side.

- 17. क्तराजपादोपजीविना¹ चतु[स*]सीमाविष्क्नसजलस्त्रल सर्ळ-पीड़ावाधविवर्जित²
- 18. खचटभटप्रवेग्रा³चन्द्रार्काचिति समकाल । अत्र सिमालिङ्गानि कथान्ते[:--*]
- 19. पूर्वे ग्रैव ड़ेला मार्गगता तिन्तृणि चय। आमेय दिशाया [म्*] ह्युटराज-
- 20. पथमर्ता भाषान गाड़ अहका । तिमिर्टच्योव वैंडनन्दि-टचरो
- 21. पितिश्चल तिन्तृषि चय वापिकाषालि ॥ दिच्चिषि विश्वाया [म्*] पव वितिस-
- 22. खर[:|*] नैरिख दिशाया[म्] गर्ता शिलः। पश्चिमदिशायाम-(पर्छन) गर्ता-
- $23. \ \$ शिल[:|] वाययदिशाया $[\mu^*]$ चुनगोड़ि 10 कुपो[:] उतर 11 दिशायम् $\|$ लुङलुहा गाड़ प-
- 24. र्वंतनोखि रहत्यर्वंतजतर 12 नोखि दयपर्वंतमध्ये नोखि गर्ता
- 25. वापिकापालि अश्वथ्यवन्त्र[ो*]गर्ता नन्दिवन्त्रः] कदम्बवन्त्रः*] तिन्तु[सा*]

¹ Read •जीविनां समाइय समाजापयति । चतुस्मीमाविक्त etc.

² Read • विविक्तितः

³ Read after प्रवेश, भूमिन्छिदापिधान्यायेना चन्द्राकेचितिकालं यावत्

⁴ Read देखा which means crooked.

⁵ The word is obscure—perhaps it is intended to be want

⁶ Read यावत्

⁷ Read दिच्य

⁸ Read पर्वत

⁹ Read नेस्ति

¹⁰ Read चुनगोटिक्पः

¹¹ Read STI

¹² Read THE

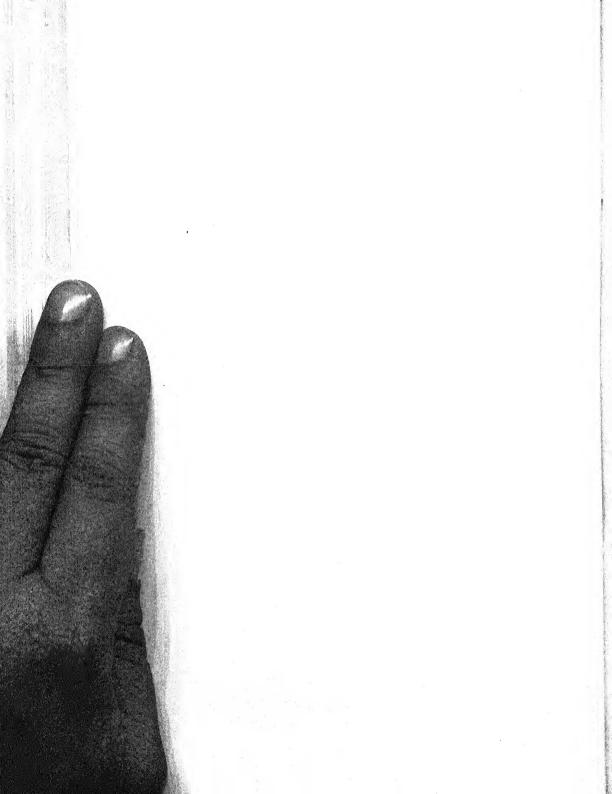


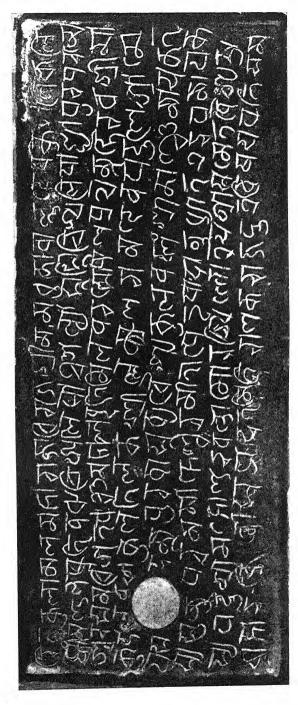
Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga era. J. B. O. R. S., 1932.





Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Kāvārṇṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga era. 7. B. O. R. S., 1932.





Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu=Kāvārṇṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga era. J. B. O. R. S., 1932.



Chicacole Plates of Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu=Kāvārṇṇadeva, dated 526 Ganga era. 9. B. O. R. S., 1932.



Third plate.

- 26. विस्मि¹ करोपितिशिल तिन्तृत्यं गर्ता विस्मि²क[ः] तत³रोपित-शिला
- 27. दयतित्वश्या[।*]ईश्या[न]दिश्याया[म्*] राजण व्रच्च[ः]वाल्प्रिक्तं कि [:*]गर्ना पर्व्यततल
- 28. मार्गा ॥ सत्रस्थ भुमि । सुरय भ्रतदय २०० । दोलिस्टगवेग्ट⁵
- 29. पोड़ा भोइ॥ रेवन रा[ड]त। गोलुपटले॥ खापचि पड़। वक्किभ-
- 30. वैसधादता⁶ राजान[र]गरादिभि[ः।*] यस्य यस्य यदा सुमि [र*]त
- 31. स्य तस्य तदाषण[म्*] स्वदता परदतम्बा यो हरेति [व*]स-[*]धरा[म्*]। विष्टं
- 32. वर्षसच्चाणि विद्यायां जायते क्रामः। दात्त देट भ्रतरूप्य १५०
- 33. गङ्गपवर्द्धविजयराज्यसम्बत्सर⁸ स्त्रङ्गेनापि पूर्द्[।*] किलङ्ग-नगरवास्त्रत्य[मा]धवसुनु⁹ि।म-
- 34. धुसु 10 दनेन लिखितं $[\cdot]^*$] लेखकस्य सुमि $^{11}[\cdot]^*$] सुर्य ४० स्त्राह्मालि रग्रामेन उतिकिरित $[\pi]^{12}$] ॥

4 Read बल्मीकः

¹ Read बल्गीक 2 Read बल्गीक

⁵ Read • पेएट

³ Read ततो 6 Read •दना

⁷ Read •ख्दनापर्दन

⁸ Read ब्लापि

⁹ Read •स्त्न:

¹⁰ Read • भुद्ध

¹¹ Read • भूमि:

¹² Read जन्नीरितम्

III.—On the extent of Harsa's Empire.

By Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Lecturer, Benares Hindu University, Benares.

The problem of the extent of the Kanauj Empire under Harşa has been a frequent and fruitful source of controversy. Indeed, the subject has received so much attention that one may well wonder if there is any further room for discussion. But I venture to say that the investigations of a number of scholars like Dr. R. K. Mookerji, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mr. N. Ray, Mr. C. V. Vaidya and others, though quite helpful, are far from being the last word on this knotty question. I, therefore, propose to discuss it in this paper, taking into consideration the following pertinent points:—

- (a) The limits of Harşa's paternal kingdom of Thanesvar, which he inherited after the assassination of Rājyavardhana;
- (b) The extent of the Maukhari dominions, which came under Harsa after his seat of Government was transferred to Kanauj⁴;
- (c) The territorial acquisitions of Harşa as a result of his campaigns and conquests;
- (d) Yuan Chwang's testimony regarding the political status of the countries he visited, and the relations they bore to Kanauj. I now proceed to deal with them one by one.

A.

The kingdom of Thanesvar, which had a modest beginning, appears to have been augmented to a certain extent, both in

¹ Harsa (Rulers of India Series), Chapter II, p. 22 f.

² J.B.O.R.S., 1923, p. 311 f.; also see Ind. Hist. Quart., V, 1929, pp. 229-236.

³ Ind. Hist. Quart., Dec., 1927, pp. 769-93.

⁴ See my article on the 'Early position of Harsa' in the Malaviyaji Commemoration volume, pp. 261-76.

territory and influence, under Prabhākaravardhana, as he is the first to be called Mahārājādhirāja in the family inscriptions (e.g. the Madhuban plate). The Harsacarita calls him 'a lion to the Huna deer, a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarat, a bilious plague to that scent-elephant the lord of Gāndhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Latas, an axe to the creeper of Malwa's glory'.1 passage, although significant as regards the different powers existing at the time, however, hardly warrants our concluding, as has been done by Mr. C. V. Vaidva,2 that these states had been actually conquered and annexed by Prabhākaravardhana. On the other hand, there is evidence that the 'Hūṇa deer,' instead of being overawed and cowed, was trying to pounce upon the 'lion' himself, for towards the close of his reign the kingdom was seriously disturbed by the Hūṇa menace, and Prabhākara had to dispatch the crown-prince at the head of a strong force to cope with the danger. Hence making allowance for exaggeration, it appears that in the above passage we have only a poetical description of Prabhākara's excellence and greatness as compared with the other contemporary rulers.

According to Bühler,³ Prabhākara's possessions did not go beyond the limits of the kingdom of Thanesvar, described by Yuan Chwang, which, as Sir Alexander Cunningham ⁴ suggests, probably included portions of Southern Panjab and of Eastern Rajputana. 'A State, the circuit of which amounted to 7,000 li, or 1,200 miles, might exercise a considerable influence, keep its neighbours in fear, and afford to a very talented king the means for greater conquests'. We may thus conclude that the North-Western Frontiers of Thanesvar were limited by the Hūṇa territories in the Panjab. In the east, it was conterminous

¹ Translated by Cowell and Thomas. See 1897 Edition, p. 101. Hūnaharinakesari Sindhurājajvaro Gurjaraprajāgarah Gāndhārādhipahastijvaro Lāṭapaṭavapaṭachcharo Mālava Lakshmilatāparasuh (Calcutta Edition, pp. 243-4).

² H.M.H.I., Vol. I, p. 1 f. See also Dr. R. K. Mookerji's Harsa, p. 11, where Prabhākara is said to have attained the position of an Emperor.

³ Ep. Ind., I, p. 69.

⁴ Ancient Geo. of India, p. 328 (Cunningham's Edition).

⁵ Ep. Ind., I, p. 69.

with the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj; and on the west and south it probably did not go much beyond the Rajputana desert.

B.

Although it is difficult to fix the limits of the Maukhari jurisdiction during the zenith of their power with any considerable degree of certainty, a consideration of the provenance of coins and inscriptions of the dynasty, along with their internal evidence, will help us to some extent to lift the obscurity that hangs over this problem.

To begin with the coins, some of them were found in Ahichchhatra, a few miles to the north-west of Kanauj¹; and others were procured at Ayodhya. Sir Richard Burn has further discussed a large hoard of Maukhari coins that was discovered in Bhitaura in the Fyzabad District of the United Provinces.²

Two seals were discovered in Nalanda³; but as the 'lower right quadrant with about half the writing is lost,' we cannot say definitely to which reign they belong.

The Jaunpur (U.P.) inscription ⁴ records some achievements of Iśvaravarman, but if one reads it carefully it would appear that they do not refer to any of his actual conquests, but merely to his bold stand against the enemies' aggressions.

Next, the Haraha inscription found in the Bara-Banki District (near Lucknow) of the United Provinces,⁵ mentions Isānavarman's victories over the Andhras, the Śulikas, and the Gaudas, who, according to Mr. N. G. Majumdar 'were all compelled to accept his sovereignty'.⁶ But a close perusal of the inscription hardly justifies our drawing this conclusion. It describes the Gaudas as being forced 'in future to remain within their proper realm,' which shows that they were only checked in the course of their aggrandizement. Besides, Isānavarman could not extend his suzerainty as far as

¹ Arch. Surv., Rep. IX, p. 27. J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 136.

² J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 843 f.

³ Arch. Surv. Rep., Eastern circle, 1917-18, p. 44.

⁴ Fleet's C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 51, pp. 228-30.

⁵ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 110 f. ⁶ Ind. Ant., 1917, p. 127.

Gaudadeśa, when he had to bow to the steel of a king of an intermediate territory, viz. Kumāragupta, the later Gupta monarch of Magadha. Probably the Andhras and the Śūlikas were likewise the aggressors, and Īśānavarman's engagements with them were more or less of the nature of a successful trial of arms, no annexation of their territories or imposition of Īśānavarman's authority being implied.

Here we must also consider a seal that was found in Asirgadh in the Nimad District of the Central Provinces.¹ Its discovery at a place situated so far south should not, however, be taken as proof that Asirgadh was a sort of a 'Maukhari outpost' in the Deccan, as observed by Mr. Aravamuthan.² Fleet rightly points out that the mere finding of the inscription at Asirgadh of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukharis with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east.³ Coins and seals, being small and portable, can easily be carried far away from the actual place of their origin. As an instance, we may observe that a seal of Bhāskaravarman of Kamarūpa or Assam was found in Nalanda, although it is known beyond doubt that this region was never included within his realm.

The Aphsad inscription ⁴ further informs us that Dāmodara-gupta suffered a fatal defeat at the hands of a 'Maukhari' whom we identify with Sarvavarman. It also appears that probably the death of this Later Gupta king was followed by the annexation of Magadha—or at least its western parts—to the Maukhari dominions. The Deo-Baranark inscription ⁵ lends welcome support to this theory, since it records the confirmation of a grant by two Maukhari rulers—Sarvavarman and Avantivarman—in the region of Arrah (Shahabad District).

Lastly, we may notice the testimony of the Nirmand inscription, found at a place almost on the bank of the Sutlej in the Kangra District of the Panjab.⁶ It mentions the grant

¹ Fleet, C.I.I., No. 47, pp. 219-221.

² The Kaveri, the Maukhari, and the Sangam Age, p. 97.

³ C.I.I., No. 47, p. 220.

⁴ C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 206.

⁵ Ibid., p. 215.

⁶ Fleet, C.I.I., p. 287 f.

of a Mahārāja Sarvavarman; and 'as we know of no other Sarvavarman of about this period,' says Mr. Aravamuthan, 'we may tentatively assume that the Maukhari Sarvavarman had been able to extend his dominions so far west in the course of his wars with the Hūṇas'.1 The assumption, however, does not seem cogent. The Maukhari Sarvavarman is uniformly given the paramount titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara in the dynastic records, whereas the Sarvavarman of the Nirmand inscription is a mere Mahārāja. Moreover, it would involve the supposition that the Maukharis exercised suzerainty over the intervening Vardhana dominions, and Prabhākara. who certainly was an independent king, had to fight against the Maukharis to wrest independence. Of this there is not a shred of evidence; but on the contrary the manner of description in the Harşacarita shows that both the powers were on very amicable and cordial terms.

Excluding Asirgadh and Nirmand, we may therefore summarily say that during its fullest expansion the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj extended up to Ahichehhatra and the frontier of the Thanesvar kingdom on the West; to Nalanda on the East; on the North it may have touched the Tarai districts; and on the South it probably did not go beyond the southern boundaries of the present United Provinces.²

Now, we must bear in mind that Harsa, who was already king of Thanesvar by succession, became master of all these Maukhari territories also when he dexterously stepped into their shoes, although it may be possible that he had to fight again, and bring to subjection any unruly or malcontent parts that had seized the opportunity to assert themselves during the Gauda-Malwa disturbance.

C

Regarding the conquests of Harsa, we do not again seem to stand on certain ground for want of definite details. We admittedly have some vague generalities in the accounts of the admiring Yuan Chwang, e.g. 'Proceeding eastward, he invaded

¹ The Kaveri, the Maukhari, and the Sangam Age, p. 93.

² See for a different view, *Ibid.*, pp. 96-101; C. V. Vaidya's H.M. H.I., Vol. I, p. 39.

the states which had refused allegiance; and waged incessant warfare until in six years he fought the 'Five Indias' (according to the other reading: 'had brought the Five Indias under allegiance').¹ Again we are told: 'he was soon able to make himśelf Master of India. His renown was spread abroad everywhere'.² And lastly, speaking of Mahārāṣṭra Yuan Chwang says: 'At the present time Śīlāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from East to West, and carried his arms to remote districts'.³ But nowhere does the worthy pilgrim mention how, when, and what kingdoms were conquered by Harṣa.

Nor is the evidence of Bāṇa more helpful on this point. Unfortunately his account abruptly comes to a stop, and he does not even inform us how Harsa proceeded against the Gauda king, who was the immediate object of his wrath. True, Bāṇa alludes to 'riders intently occupied in rehearsing the approaching Gauda war'. And the learned translators of the Harsacarita detect an indirect reference to the campaign in the concluding paragraph, in which 'the sunset is described in terms suggesting bloody wars and the fall of Harsa's enemy, followed by the rising of the moon of Harsa's glory'. But there are evidences—to be discussed below—which preclude our drawing any such inference. Śaśānka evaded Harsa's grasp, and continued to flourish till a considerably late date.

We are further informed by Bāna that Harsa, 'the greatest of all men, having pounded the king of Sindh, made his wealth his own', and also 'exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of the snowy mountains'. What these statements are worth, we shall consider in connection with the testimony of Yuan

¹ Watters, I, p. 323; Beal, I, p. 213.

² Life, p. 83.

³ Watters, II, p. 239; Beal, II, pp. 256-57.

⁴ Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 209.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250, note 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76. 'Atra purusottamena Sindhurājam pramathya lakshmīrātmīyā kritā'.

 $^{^7}$ Ibid., 'Atra parameśvarena tuṣāraśailabhuvo durgāyā grahītah karah '.

Chwang regarding the status of the different kingdoms that he visited. Lastly, we may note the Imperial titles given to Harşa, which may indicate his widespread power and suzerainty. Bāṇa calls him: 'king of kings, the lord of the Four Oceans, whose toe-nails are burnished by the crest-gems of all other monarchs, the leader of all emperors'. Far from urging that these pompous expressions argue Harşa's paramount status, we might say that these high-sounding titles were sometimes conventional among the courtly panegyrists, and were used in a very loose way.

D.

As the Harşacarita stubbornly refuses to give any better clue to the suzerainty of Harsa, we must now turn to our next guide, the indefatigable Chinese pilgrim, for help in unravelling the apparent indefiniteness of the power and influence of Kanauj over the surrounding territories. It may be noted here that the Records of Yuan Chwang are no political gazetteer. He came to India, defying the difficulties and hardships presented in his progress by both nature and man, on a mission that was primarily Buddhistic in its outlook and purpose. He makes only incidental references to the government of different States, and as such they are all the more valuable and trustworthy. We should, therefore, analyse the testimony of Yuan Chwang in conjunction with that of the Life and indigenous epigraphs; and try to deduce conclusions as to the extent of the kingdom of Kanauj under Harsa after learning the exact political status of the territories of the north, which Yuan Chwang visited, or of which he had heard.

The illustrious pilgrim begins his description from Lan-po, although the countries described by him from Lan-po to Rajaur (Bajaur), both inclusive, were regarded by the inhabitants of India as 'borderlands', inhabited by 'barbarians', and not part of their territory. One of the most powerful kingdoms in the

^{1 &#}x27;Devadevasya chatuhsamudrādhipateḥ sakalarājachakrachūdāmaṇi Sreṇī sana konakashana nirmalīkrita-charaṇa-nakhamaṇeḥ sarva chakravartinām dhaureyasya mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-Śri-Harṣa devasya.' (Cal. Ed., p. 112.)

north-west was Kapisa with several dependencies, some of which were Lam-pa or Lan-po,¹ Nagar identified with modern Nungnehar,² Gandhāra,³ and Falana or Varana.⁴ We are unable to ascertain who was the king of Kapisa; but we are informed that he was a Kshatriya and an adherent of Buddhism. And as we are further told that 'his power extended over more than ten of the neighbouring lands,'⁵ we may be sure that he was a strong and an absolutely independent ruler.

The next kingdom of importance visited by Yuan Chwang was Kashmir, which held sway over many outlying lands, such as Takshaśila (modern Shah-Dher)6; Simhapura, identified with Narasimha or Ketas 'situated on the north side of the Salt Range 7; Wu-la-shih or Urasa, corresponding with modern Hazara 8; Pan-ni-tso (modern Punch) 9; Ho-lo-she-pu-lo or Raiauri.10 Unfortunately the Life and the Records are both silent regarding the name of the Kashmirian monarch, who treated the pilgrim with marked ceremonious respect, and 'gave him twenty clerks to copy out manuscripts and five men to act as attendants.' 11 The Rajatarangini, however, affords us a clue, for, according to Kalhana, Durlabhavardhana, who inaugurated the Karkota dynasty, came to the throne in 3677 of the Laukika era, or 601 A.D. He ruled for 36 years, which makes him exactly contemporary with Harsa and Yuan Chwang.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji tries to show on the supposed authority of the Life that Kashmir 'in a way acknowledged the suzerainty of Harşa.' ¹² To quote its testimony, we are told that 'Sīlādityarāja hearing that Kashmir possessed a tooth of the Buddha, coming in person to the chief frontier asked permission

¹ Watters, I, p. 181; Beal, I, p. 90.

² Watters, I, p. 183; Beal, I, p. 91.

³ Watters, I, p. 199; Beal, I, p. 98.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 262; Beal, II, p. 281. ⁵ Watters, I, p. 123.

⁶ Ibid., p. 240; Beal, I, p. 136.

⁷ Anc. Geo. of Ind., p. 125; Watters, I, p. 248.

⁸ Watters, I, p. 256; Beal, I, p. 147.

⁹ Watters, I, p. 283; Beal, I, p. 163.

¹⁰ Watters, I, p. 284; Beal, I, p. 163.

¹¹ Watters, I, p. 259.

¹² Harsa, p. 40.

to see and worship it'.1 The congregation was unwilling to accede to this request, and concealed the tooth, but the king of Kashmir fearing the exalted character of Harsa, had the tooth unearthed and presented to him. Then 'Sīlāditya seeing it was overpowered with reverence, and exercising force, carried it off to pay it religious offerings'.2 The episode, as narrated in the Life, will hardly bear the interpretation put upon it; and the expression that Śīlāditya carried off the tooth by 'exercising force' probably means nothing more than that he brought it to Kanauj much against the wish of the people of Kashmir, who were even unwilling to allow Harşa to see and worship the relic. There could be no question of any fight with the king of Kashmir, as the latter presented the sacred tooth to Harsa of his own accord. Presumably a display of force, or a mere threat helped Harsa to obtain the prized object; but any conclusions as to his authority being recognised in the valley are totally unwarranted.

We may here also consider a passage occurring in the Rājatarangini, which runs as follows:—

Idam svabhedavidhuram Harsādīnām dharābhujām kañcit kālam abhūd bhojyam tatah prabhriti mandalam, i.e. 'From that period onwards this country, which had suffered from internal dissensions, was for some time subject to Harsa and other

kings'. 3

Tempting as the identification might seem, this Harşa should not be confused with the Harşa of Kanauj, as has been done by Mr. N. Ray. Firstly, the 'chronological aberration,' as noted by Stein, should preclude any such supposition; and secondly, this Harşa had a son, who is reputed to have ruled after him, whereas the Harşa of Kanauj left no successor, and this was probably one of the reasons why the empire collapsed soon after his death. It would thus appear from the foregoing discussion that we have no grounds for believing that Kashmir owed allegiance to Harşa.

¹ Life, p. 183; See also Watters, I, p. 279. 2 Ibid.

³ Stein's Translation, Vol. I, Bk. II, verse 7, p. 56.

⁴ Ind. Hist. Quart., Dec., 1927, p. 780.

⁵ Stein's Rājatarangini, p. 56, note 7.

The pilgrim then proceeded to the *Cheh-ka* (Takka) country, lying between the Indus and the Pi-po-she (Beas). It is said to have possessed numerous *Punyaśālas*, or free rest-houses, where medicine and food were distributed, and where bodily wants and conveniences were looked after .¹ It had two dependencies, Mou-lo-san-pu or Multan,² and Po-fa-to,³ identified with Parvata (Pavvata). Cheh-ka was thus another flourishing kingdom outside the pale of Harşa's jurisdiction.

She-lan-ta-lo or Jalandhara was the next great kingdom visited by Yuan Chwang. We are told of a king of this country, who learning Buddhism from an Arhat, became a zealous believer. Thereupon the king of 'Mid India', appreciating his sincere faith, gave him sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India. He also travelled throughout India, and erected topes or monasteries at all sacred places.⁴ The king of 'Mid India' may or may not be identified with Harşa, but it is certain that the latter did exercise some measure of influence over this kingdom, as we learn from the Life⁵ that he charged the king of Jalandhara (named Wuti=Wuddhi or Buddhi) ⁶ to escort the pilgrim in safety to the frontiers.

Following the Chinese Master's itinerary as far as Nepal we find that he visited the following places, about whose governments he does not give us any particular information:—

- I. Ku-lu-to, corresponding 'with the position of Kullu in the upper valley of the Beas river.' ⁷
 - II. She-to-tu-lo, or the Satadru country.
 - III. Mo-tu-lo, or Mathura.8
- IV. Sa-ta-ni-ssn-fa-lo: identical with ancient Sthanisvara and modern Thanesvar in the Ambala district. Curiously enough, Yuan Chwang is silent as to its ruler, and makes no reference to the Vardhanas.

¹ Watters, I, p. 286; Beal, I, p. 167.

² Watters, II, p. 254; Beal, II, p. 274.

³ Watters, II, p. 255; Beal, II, p. 275.

⁴ Watters, I, p. 296; Beal, I, p. 176. ⁵ Life, pp. 189-190.

⁶ Watters restores the name Wu-ti or Wu-ti-to as Udito.

⁷ Anc. Geo. of India, p. 142. 8 Beal, I, p. 180 f.

⁹ Anc. Geo. of India, pp. 328-9.

V. Srughna: identified with the modern village of Sugh. Yuan Chwang says that the capital was 'in a ruinous condition'.

VI. Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo, or Brahmapura.

VII. Ku-pi-sang-na (Govishana): according to Cunning-ham this 'corresponded very nearly to the modern districts of Kashipur, Rampur, and Pilibhit'. ²

VIII. Ngo-hi-chi-ta-lo (Ahichchhatra): occupying the eastern part of Rohilkhand.

IX. Pi-lo-shan-na: identified with the ruins called Atranjikhera on the Kalinadi.

X. Kapitha or Sankasya: identified with modern Sankissa.

XI. A-yu-te, or Ayodhya.

XII. A-ya-mu-kha (Hayamukha): represented by Daundiakher on the northern bank of the Ganges.³

XIII. Prayaga, or modern Allahabad.

XIV. Kosambi: Dr. Vincent Smith thought that the Satna railway station marks its approximate position,⁴ whereas Mr. Dayaram Sahni identifies it with Kosam.⁵

XV. Pi-sho-ka.

XVI. Shi-lo-fa-si-tu: identified with Sravasti or modern Sahet-Mahet.⁶

XVII. Rāma or Rāmagrama: 'This had been waste and wild for a long time, and its area was not defined: its towns were heaps of ruins, and there was a very scanty population.' ⁷

XVIII. Kusinagara or modern Kasia⁸: 'The city walls were in ruins, and the towns and villages were deserted.' 9

XIX. Po-lo-na-se (Varānasi or modern Benares): 'The inhabitants were very numerous, and had boundless wealth, but they cared little for Buddhism.' 10

¹ Anc. Geo. of India, p. 346. ² Ibid., p. 357. ³ Ibid., p. 387.

⁴ J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 503 f. ⁵ Ibid., 1927, p. 689 f.

 $^{^6}$ See Vincent Smith, $J.R.A.S.,\ 1900,\ {\rm p.}\ 1$ f., for a different identification.

⁷ Watters, II, p. 20; Beal, II, p. 26.

⁸ Arch. Surv. Ind., XVIII, Pref. and p. 55.

⁹ Watters, II, p. 26; Beal, II, p. 32.

¹⁰ Watters, II, p. 47; Beal, II, p. 44.

XX. Fei-she-li, or Vaisali.

XXI. Fu-li-chih (or the Vriji country): 'The chief city was called Chan-shu-na; it was in a ruinous state, and the old walled city, which was like a country town, had a population of over 3,000 families.' 1

Yuan Chwang, however, makes specific mention of the governments of the following territories that fell on his way from Rājapura to Nepal:—

- I. Po-li-ye-ta-lo: Reinaud identifies this district with 'Paryatra or Bairat,' and Cunningham subscribes to this view.² We are told: 'The king, who was of the Fei-she (Vaiśya) stock, was a man of courage and military skill.' ³
- II. Mo-ti-pu-lo (Matipura): identified by Saint Martin and Cunningham with Madawar or Mandawar, a large town in Western Rohilkhand, near Bijnor.⁴ Yuan Chwang says: 'The king who was of the Sūdra stock, did not believe in Buddhism, and worshipped the Devas.' ⁵
- III. The Suvarnagotra country: It was said to lie to the north of Brahmapura, and was called 'the Eastern Woman's Country', because it was ruled by a succession of women. The husband of the queen was king, but he did not administer the government.⁶
- IV. Kapilavastu: The 'royal city' was a complete waste, and as the district had been left desolate for a very long time, it was only sparsely inhabited. 'The country was without a sovereign, each city having its own chief.'

The next important kingdom mentioned by the Master of the Law is Nepal (Ni-po-lo), about which unhappily he has just a few words to say: 'The kings of Nepal were Kshatriya

¹ Watters, II, p. 81; Beal, II, p. 78.

² Anc. Geo. of India, p. 337.

³ Watters, I, p. 300; Beal, I, p. 179.

⁴ Anc. Geo. of India, pp. 348-49.

⁵ Watters, I, p. 322; Beal, I, p. 190; Life, p. 79.

⁶ Watters, I, p. 330; Beal, I, p. 199. This country is probably identical with the Suvarnabhū in the north-east division of the Brihat-Samhitā, which Kern regards as 'in all likelihood a mythical land' (Ind. Ant., XXII, p. 190).

⁷ Watters, II, p. 1; Beal, II, p. 14.

Lichchhavis, and they were eminent scholars and believing Buddhists. A recent king, whose name is given as Ang-shu-fana or Amśuvarman . . . had composed a treatise on etymology.' It has usually been assumed on the authority of Bühler, Bhagvan Lal Indraji, Fleet, Vincent Smith, that Nepal came under the suzerainty of Harşa; but this view has also been called to question by Sylvain Leví, Ettinghausen and others. The problem being so controversial, we must critically examine the available evidence before coming to any conclusion. To begin with the arguments adduced in support of Harşa's conquest of Nepal:—

(a) Certain Nepalese inscriptions 3 have been discovered. and among them there are some that refer to a king named Amsuvarman; these are dated in the years 34, 39, and 45. He is described in these inscriptions as a mere Sāmanta or Mahāsāmanta; and since 'it is an indisputable axiom that nobody but an anointed king can initiate a Samvat of his own'4 Amsuvarman has been ruled out as a possible originator of the era in which they are dated. Yuan Chwang calls Amsuvarman a 'recent king'; and the characters of the inscriptions are also said to belong to the close of the sixth, or the early part of the seventh century A.D.5 Hence, the dates have with some plausibility been referred to the Harsa era, as at this period it was 'in widest use'; and 'no other known Indian era can meet the requirements of the case.'6 Granting this circumstance, it necessarily implies the subordination of Nepal to Kanauj, for no other independent monarch would use the era started by another.7

¹ Watters, II, p. 84; Beal, II, p. 81.

² Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 411 f.

³ See Ind. Ant., IX, p. 169 f. Nos. 6, 7 and 8; Kielhorn's Nos. 531-33. The numbers quoted hereafter refer to the list of Indraji and Bühler, Ind. Ant., IX, p. 168.

⁴ Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 420. ⁵ Ibid., p. 418. ⁶ Ibid., p. 421.

⁷ The following remark seems apposite here: If an Indian prince adopts a new foreign era, especially one founded by a contemporary, that may be considered as almost a certain proof that the borrower had to submit to the Saka-kartri, or establisher of the era (Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 40).

- (b) That the Harsa era was used in Nepal is further maintained on the evidence of inscription No. 15, dated Samvat 153,¹ which states that Jayadeva's mother, Vatsadevi, was the daughter of a Maukhari prince or chief, Bhogavarman, and the grand-daughter of 'the great Ādityasena, the illustrious lord of Magadha.' We know Ādityasena of Magadha from the Shahpur stone image inscription,² dated year 66 of an unspecified era, which 'from the known facts of Ādityasena's history is that of Harsavardhana of Kanauj.'³ Now, the distance between this date and that of his grandson Jayadeva is 87 years, or slightly above the duration of three Indian generations, which amount to 78 years approximately.⁴ 'Under these circumstances,' it is asserted that 'it is not in the least doubtful that the great-grandfather and great-grandson used the same era,⁵ viz. that of Harsa.
- (c) The Vamśāvali informs us that immediately before the accession of Amśuvarman, Vikramāditya came to the country, and established his era there. It is argued that this statement preserves a reminiscence of Harsa's conquest of Nepal, as at this period the name Vikramāditya could have reference to Harsa only among Indian kings.
- (d) A 'much stronger argument' is found in the existence of the Bais Rajputs in Nepal according to the testimony of the Vamsāvali. 'Since it is an almost universal rule with Indian princes that on the occasion of conquests they grant a portion of land to their clansmen', be probably we have here a direct proof that Nepal was once in the power of a Bais king, who could be nobody else but Harşa of Kanauj, as we know on the authority of Yuan Chwang that he belonged to the Feishe caste, identified by Sir Alexander Cunningham with the Bais Rajputs. 7

¹ Ibid., TX, pp. 178-83.

² C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 209-10. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁴ Bhagvan Lal Indraji and Bühler assure us that 'in India the duration of a generation amounts, as the statistical tables of the life-insurance companies show, at the outside to only 26 years' (Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 417).

⁵ Ibid., p. 421. ⁶ Ibid., pp. 420-21.

⁷ Anc. Geo. of India, pp. 377-8,

(e) Lastly, we might mention the oft-quoted passage of Bana that Harsa 'exacted tribute from an inaccessible country of snowy mountains,' which has been construed as referring to Nepal. Apparently, there is some force in these arguments; but they are open to serious objections. First, if the dates of the inscriptions of Amsuvarman be accepted as referring to the Harsa era, the last known date for him according to inscription No. 8 would be A.D. 606+45=651 A.D. The Records on the other hand imply by the word 'recent' that Amsuvarman's reign had terminated shortly before the pilgrim's visit in about 637 A.D. And we have, therefore, a discrepancy of about 14 vears between the two testimonies. Scholars try to overcome this difficulty by suggesting that the pilgrim did not himself go to Nepal, and his evidence was mere hearsay, 'liable to be coloured and distorted by misunderstanding or misrepresentation.' The assumption, however, is quite gratuitous, for Yuan Chwang was a careful and trustworthy writer, who invariably tried to ascertain facts and write them down correctly. He moved in the highest circles, among powerful potentates and celebrated monks, who could certainly be relied upon to supply correct information.1 Besides, Yuan Chwang mentions the countries that he did not visit, and as an instance we may cite the case of the six countries beyond Samatata, regarding which he speaks only on information gained here and there.2 Thus there can be no doubt about the pilgrim's testimony, and so to reconcile the conflicting evidence we must refer the dates in the inscriptions to some other era instead of that of Harşa. Yuan Chwang's visit to those parts has been fixed at about 637 A.D. We also know from inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9 that Amsuvarman died, and his successor was on the throne, between Samvat 45 and 48. Hence, assuming that Amsuvarman was dead a couple of years before the pilgrim's visit, and that the date 45 denotes the last year of his reign, we come to the conclusion that the reckoning in the inscriptions began in the year 590 A.D.

¹ See also Journal of the Mythic Society. Unfortunately I have lost the exact reference to this article, which was available to me in the British Museum, and to which I owe some suggestions.

² Watters, II, p. 187.

approximately. The fact that Amsuvarman was a mere Sāmanta or Mahāsāmanta need not present any obstacle in adopting this view. Probably he did not start any era formally soon after his accession, but at first dated the inscriptions in the years of his reign. Later on, when he assumed the supreme power in the land, he converted it into an era, dating back to the beginning of his rule; and the same reckoning was continued by his successors. Amsuvarman's earliest inscription is dated Samvat 34, and Samvat undoubtedly indicates an era.

At this point we may be called upon to explain how he could commence an era, when his master was alive in Samvat 39. It would appear that Sivadeva was only the nominal ruler, whereas the real power was vested in Amsuvarman, who is referred to in inscription No. 5 of Sivadeva as one 'who has destroyed the power of all (my) enemies by his heroic majesty' and 'whose brilliant fame, gained by the trouble of properly protecting the subjects, pervades the universe'.1 Besides, inscriptions Nos. 6 to 8 of Amsuvarman do not mention any superior lord; and as he himself assumed sovereign powers (for example, appointing Udayadeva as his chief executive officer) we may infer that he had become powerful and independent even during his master's lifetime. That he called himself 'Mahāsāmanta' was probably due to habit or out of respect for his old lord alive in Samvat 39. We may recall in this connection the case of Pusyamitra, who calls himself 'Senāpati' even after becoming king2 or of Rudradāman mentioned as a mere 'Mahākshatrapa' after the assumption of The subordinate titles are dropped in sovereign status.3 Amsuvarman's inscription of the year 45,4 and in that of Jishnugupta of Samvat 48, in which he is referred to as

¹ Ind. Ant., IX, p. 169.

² Malavikāgnimitra, Act V, p. 131 (S. P. Pandit's Edition, 1889).

³ Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman, Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 40, 44, 45. An analogy to the retention of the feudatory title may also be found in the use of the epithet 'Peshwa' by the Mahratta rulers of the Deccan; who instead of being the Peshwas or Ministers of the descendants of Sivaji were in reality their masters.

⁴ No. 8, Ind. Ant., IX, p. 171.

'Bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Sri Amsuvarmapādaḥ'.¹ There is thus nothing to militate against the view propounded above, that the inscriptions are dated in an independent era.

Secondly, argument (b) loses its entire force if it be granted that the reckoning of Amśuvarman's inscriptions began some time in 590 A.D. Adding 153 to 590 A.D., we get 743 A.D. as the date of Jayadeva's inscription No. 15. If the date 66 of the Shahpur inscription is to be referred to the Harsa era—as has been done by Fleet—the difference between Ādityasena and his great-grandson Jayadeva would be only 743—672 A.D.=71 years, or slightly less than the duration of three Indian generations, which as mentioned above, amounts to roughly 78 years. Thus, according to this proposition also the dates would tally remarkably well.

Thirdly, the *Vamśāvali* is worthless for purposes of history, as a few instances will show. It says that Amśuvarman came to the throne in Kali 3000=101 B.C.,² which is in violent conflict with the testimonies of both Yuan Chwang and the inscriptions. Again, Amśuvarman's seventh successor, Vīradeva, is said to have ruled in Kaliyuga 3623 or 522 A.D.,³ and thus we have the absurdity of seven generations for six hundred years.

Besides, Harşa was never known as Vikramāditya (even Bāṇa or the inscriptions do not bestow on him this title, although it is so commonly adopted by powerful Hindu potentates); and it is stretching the point to say that he was called Vikramāditya by confusion. Probably by using the expression 'Vikramāditya came and established his era' the authors of the Vamśāvali simply tried to connect the current era in Nepal with the renowned name of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era.

Fourthly, the force of argument (d) above lies in the correct identification of the *Fei-she* caste with the Bais Rajputs. It was a casual suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham; but we venture to say that it is far from conclusive, as the family

¹ No. 9, ibid., p. 172.

² Ibid., XIII, p. 418.

³ Ibid.

suffix Vardhana (usually used after Vaisya names only) itself would show.

Fifthly, the passage in the Harşacarita is not such as to warrant our drawing any definite conclusions. 'The inaccessible land of snowy mountains' may not refer to Nepal. Ettinghausen thought that it referred to some Tukhāra country. Moreover, it is capable of bearing more than one interpretation. 'Atra parameśvareṇa tuṣāra śailabhuvo durgāyā grihītaḥ karaḥ,' might as well mean without violence to the context: 'Here the Supreme Lord has obtained the hand of Durgā born in the snowy mountains', which in all probability alludes to Harṣa's marriage with some hill-princess belonging to a very powerful family. That he was married is evident from the following passage put by Bāṇa into the mouth of Harṣa: 'Kalatram rakshatu iti śrīste nistrimsedhivasati,' i.e. 'if you would have me watch over my wife, glory resides in your steel'.'

The upshot of this lengthy but necessary discussion is that we have no certain evidence pointing to Harşa's interference in the affairs of the valley; or to the introduction of his era there. It will, therefore, be safer to exclude Nepal from the sphere of the suzerainty of Kanauj.³

We shall now describe the political conditions of some of the eastern parts of India visited by Yuan Chwang.

Magadha: The Chinese pilgrim does not mention in what relation this ancient kingdom stood to Kanauj, nor does he note

^{1 &#}x27;Harshavardhana', p. 47.

² Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 175. Although, as we have seen above, Bāna is quite explicit about Harṣa's marriage. It is strange that Dr. Beni Prasad observes: 'Neither Bāṇabhaṭṭa nor Yuan Chwang nor any of the contemporary inscriptions refers to any wife of Harṣavardhana, or to the fact of his marriage' (The State in Ancient India, Chap. XIV, p. 385). Moreover, Yuan Chwang definitely informs us that Dhruvabhatta, the king of Valabhi, was Harṣa's son-in-law, and this obviously he could not become without the latter's marriage.

³ We may also note here that at this time Tibet wielded supreme influence over Nepal, which gave its full support to the mission of Wanghiuen-tse in its punitive expedition against the usurper of Harşa's throne. Both Watters (Vol. II, p. 85) and Vincent Smith (Early Hist. of India, 3rd ed., pp. 353, 361) admit this, but in the description of Harşa's kingdom the latter includes Nepal (see *ibid.*, p. 341).

the nature of its government. All the information that he gives is that 'in recent times' Śaśānka cut down the Bodhi Tree; and 'a few months afterwards Purnavarman, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha brought the Tree back to life '.1 This Pūrņavarman² must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., since he is represented here as the contemporary of Śaśāńka, whose last date according to the Ganjam plate was 619 A.D. After Purnavarman's death, probably Magadha passed under the jurisdiction of Harsa, as the Chinese documents connected with his embassy to that country seem to style him 'king of Magadha'. Support for this view may further be found from Yuan Chwang, who, describing the establishments around the Nalanda convent, records 'a bronze temple in course of construction by King Śīlāditya',4 and we may be sure that this name could only have reference to the great king of Kanauj at this period.

I-lan-na-po-fa-to country: identified with the modern district of Monghyr. The pilgrim says: 'in recent times the king of a neighbouring State had deposed the ruler, and given the capital to the Buddhist brethren'. Its proximity to Magadha perhaps justifies our identifying this generous king of the 'border country' with Harsa.

Chan-po (Champa) or modern Bhagalpur. Yuan Chwang is reticent about its political relations.

Ka-chu-wen (?) (Ki-lo or Kajangala): identified by Cunning-ham with the modern Rajmahal. We are told that 'the native dynasty had been extinguished some centuries before the time of the pilgrim's visit, and the country had come under a neighbouring State, so the capital was deserted and the people lived in towns and villages. Hence when King Silāditya in his progress to "East India" held his court, he cut grass and burned these when leaving'. The fact of Harsa having held his court

¹ Watters, II, p. 115; Beal, II, p. 118.

² It is possible that Pürnavarman was a Maukhari acting as governor of Magadha on behalf of the penultimate or the last Maukhari king of Kanauj, who ruled over it since the days of Sarvavarman.

³ Watters, I, p. 351. 4 Watters, II, p. 171; Life, p. 119.

⁵ Watters, II, p. 178; Beal, II, p. 187.

⁶ Watters, II, p. 183; Beal, II, p. 193.

there proves beyond doubt that it was included within his wide dominions. That the king's temporary residence was burnt after his departure should not lead us to the belief that Harsa merely 'carried on a military raid in this direction,' as supposed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, for Yuan Chwang himself informs us that the sovereign 'made visits of inspection throughout his dominions having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn'.

Pun-na-fa-tan-na (or Pundravardhana): identified with modern Pabna. Samatata, regarded as lying in the district of modern Faridpur, south of Dacca.² Tan-mo-lip-ti (Tamralipti), corresponding to the modern Tamluk. Karnasuvarna, equivalent to the modern districts of Burdwan and Murshidabad.3 The king of these regions shortly before the visit of Yuan Chwang was She-shang-kia or Śaśānka, the oppressor of Buddhists, who had treacherously murdered Rajyavardhana.4 A king with the same name is known to have been in power about the year 619 A.D., for the Ganjam copperplate of the Gupta year 300 refers to him in pompous expressions: 'While the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Šaśānkarāja, was ruling over the earth, surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities'. If the Saśānkas of the Si-yu-ki and the Ganjam inscription are identical as has been accepted on all hands, it is certain that Harşa was unable to make any headway against his adversary for at least thirteen years after the murder of Rājya. Yuan Chwang, however, does not mention any reigning king during his visit to these parts; and the manner in which

¹ J.B.O.R.S., 1923, p. 314.

² Watters, II, p. 88. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁴ Yuan Chwang calls Śaśānka king of Karnasuvarna; and Bāna refers to him as the king of Gauda, which designated Bengal in a loose way. Putting these two testimonies together with the Ganjam plate, we know that Śaśānka was ruler of a pretty extensive territory, comprising Bengal proper and portions of the eastern coast-line.

⁵ Śaśānka's sovereign status about 619 A.D. is known not only by the title Mahārājādhirāja, but also by the fact that the Mahārāja Mādhavarāja, who issued the grant, calls himself a Mahāsāmanta, and was evidently a feudatory of Śaśānka.

he speaks about Śaśānka shows that he had lived not very long before his itinerary. This agrees admirably with the testimony of the Ganjam inscription. We must, therefore, explain what happened to Śaśānka's kingdom after his death, which may be tentatively fixed in the year 620 A.D. with a slight margin for error.

It has been conjectured that the Nidhanpur inscription celebrates the triumphant entry of Bhāskaravarman of Assam into the capital of Karnasuvarna after his victory, for it describes him as a vanquisher of 'hundreds of kings' and records a grant made from his camp there.1 This must have happened after the tumult following Aruna's usurpation and Bhāskara's siding with Wang-hiuen-tse, as in spite of the 'unending alliance' there seems little likelihood that Harsa would allow him to appropriate those fertile provinces to himself, and thus gain an immense accession of strength. Politics is a game that hardly knows any magnanimity; and especially in ancient India, dominated by the theories of the Arthasastra and the Mahabharata, which advocate that a king, although apparently showing friendly feelings, should always entertain a deep suspicion of an allied power, such growth in the power of a contemporary kingdom would never have been tolerated. Hence, from the silence of Yuan Chwang we may conclude that Harsa, who was waiting for a favourable opportunity to fulfil the vow taken at the start of his career, gratified his ancient grudge against Gauda when the backbone of strength and resistance was broken by the death of Śaśanka.

Ka-mo-lu-po or Kāmarūpa, i.e. modern Assam. Yuan Chwang informs us that 'the reigning king, who was a Brahmin by caste, and a descendant of Nārāyana Deva was named Bhāskaravarman, his other name being Kumāra. The sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for one thousand generations'. He was in great fear of his powerful neighbour,

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 66.

² Watters, II, p. 186; Beal, II, p. 196. Strange to say, in some of the family names Yuan Chwang is remarkably confirmed by Būṇa and the inscriptions. See the *Harsacarita* (Translation), p. 217; *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1919, p. 302; also 1920, p. 151.

Śaśānka, and this was probably the reason why he so readily extended the hand of friendship to Harsa at the initial stage of his campaigns. Dr. R. K. Mookerji, on the other hand, affirms that 'the king of distant Kāmarūpa (Assam) offered him allegiance of his own accord, and was anointed king by his liege lord'. But I find no authority whatsoever for this assertion. Can the conclusion of a treaty by any stretch of imagination be interpreted as 'offering allegiance of his own accord'? learned Professor finds support for the second part of his statement in a dubious passage occurring in the Harsacarita. viz. 'Atra devena abhişiktah Kumārah'.2 To my mind, however, it seems to have no bearing upon Bhāskaravarman, for Bāṇa calls him 'Prāgjyotiṣeśvara' or king of Assam,3 at the time when negotiations were opened by his messenger Hamsavega. I venture to suggest that the passage most probably refers to Mādhavagupta,4 the youthful friend of Harşa, to whom he delegated his authority over Magadha. This is evident if the testimonies of the Harsacarita and the Aphsad inscription 5 are considered in conjunction. The former mentions Mādhavagupta as youthful companion of Harşa at the Thanesvar Court: whereas from the latter it is evident that he was ruling over the Magadha region, and is further credited 'with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harşadeva'. This political arrangement was perhaps made by Harsa either to reward his services rendered during the initial crisis, or to make him a bulwark against the aggressions of Śaśānka, who was in power at least till 619 A.D. Or, it may be that by the appointment of a strong lieutenant in Magadha, Harşa was only manœuvring to further his designs against Šaśānka's territories in Bengal and the coastal regions. Mādhavagupta's family,

¹ Harsa, p. 44. See also p. 48, where the author calls Bhāskara 'a vassal chief'.

² Harsacarita (Translation), p. 76; Cal. ed., pp. 210-11.

³ By some slip the term has unfortunately been translated as 'Heir Apparent of Assam' by the learned translators (see *ibid.*, p. 211).

⁴ The term 'Kumāra' has probably been used by Bāṇa in its general sense of 'prince' without reference to any particular name.

⁵ C.I.I., Vol. III, No. 42, pp. 203, 207.

however, declared the independence of Magadha in the confusion following Harşa's death, as we know his son, Ādityasena, bears the Imperial titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Paramabhaṭṭāraka in inscriptions.

The episode of the forced visit of Yuan Chwang would hardly lead us to any conclusion. It is said that when Harsa sent for the Chinese pilgrim, who was then staying with Bhāskaravarman, he got the reply that Harsa could have his head, but not his guest—an expression which undoubtedly stressed his reluctance to part with the illustrious visitor. Receiving an unfavourable reply Harsa is represented to have made the bold demand to 'send the head',¹ and ultimately the threat had the desired effect. Obviously it cannot follow from this yielding to the pressure of a valued ally that the king of Assam accepted the political suzerainty of Harsa.

The circumstance of attending both the assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga also does not help us to determine the political relations of the two potentates. Bhāskara witnessed their proceedings as a friend on an equal footing with Harsa,² and there is no evidence that it involved a compromise of his independence.

Wu-tu (Odra) or modern Orissa, and Kung-yu(gu or ya)-to or Kongodha, identical with the modern Ganjam district.³ Yuan Chwang is silent about the government of both, but he describes the latter as a great military country: 'As the towns were naturally strong, there was a gallant army, which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy'.⁴ As we shall show below, Orissa was certainly within the pale of Harşa's sovereignty, and regarding Kongodha we

¹ Life, p. 172.

² Compare in this connection the installation ceremony of Chakrā-yudha, which was attended by nine independent powers. Some scholars think that they attended as feudatories of either Kanauj (C. V. Vaidya, H.M.H.I., Vol. I, p. 341), or Dharmapāla of Bengal (R. D. Banerji, Memoirs Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 51), but I make bold to say that there is nothing in the Khalimpur grant (Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 243-54) to justify such an assumption.

³ See also J.B.O.R.S., Dec. 1926, p. 586.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 197; Beal, II, p. 207.

319

learn from the Life 1 that this country had been attacked and subjugated by the king of Kanauj. It was then 'apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom'. Thus it appears that Harsa made this region a strong military outpost of his far-flung empire, probably with a view to preventing any foreign incursions on the borders, threatened as they were by the eastward advance of Pulakesi II, who is credited with the conquest of Kośala and Kalinga in the Aihole inscription.²

Having dealt with those portions of the north and east that lay in the pilgrim's route, we now come to the kingdoms of the south-west and west.

Mo-ha-la-cha or Mahāraṣṭra. Yuan Chwang gives us a very reliable description of this kingdom. The king, we are told, was 'a Kshatriya by birth, and his name was Pulo-ki-sha (Pulakesi). The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Sīlāditya at this time was invading east and west; and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but Mo-ha-la-cha refused to become subject to him'. Additional information is furnished by the Life 4 that Šīlāditya 'boasting of his skill and invariable success of his generals himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince'. But even his supreme and masterful command did not enable him to subjugate or prevail over his powerful southern rival, who had by his extensive conquests in the south justly won the proud title of 'Dakshināpatha prithivyāh svāmi' or 'lord of the whole region of the south'.5

The pilgrim's account of this clash between the two great rivals is remarkably confirmed by the testimony of the Chālukya inscriptions also. The Aihole Meguti inscription of A.D. 634, containing a description of Pulakeśi's exploits, refers to the event as follows: 'Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harsa, whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power was

¹ Life, pp. 159, 172. ² Ind. Ant., VIII, pp. 242, 245. 4 Life, p. 147.

³ Watters, II, p. 239; Beal, II, p. 256. ⁵ Yekkeri inscription, Ep. Ind., V, p. 8.

caused by him to have his joy melted away by fear'.' Further references to the same event occur in the Nirpan,² Karnul,³ and Togarchedu grants,⁴ which testify that the Chālukya monarch acquired the title of 'Parameśvara' or 'supreme lord' by defeating Harsavardhana 'the warlike lord of all the region of the north (Sakalottarapathanātha).⁵ This reverse, the first great military achievement of the south against a northern power, was perhaps due not only to the proud spirit and warlike character of the Mahrattas, but also to Pulakeśi's superior and carefully equipped troops—cavalry and elephants.

Po-lu-ka-cha-po (Bhrigukachchhapa or Bhrigukachchha, i.e. Bharoch): identified with the kingdom founded by Dadda. It was doubtless independent of Kanauj, as its ruler gave protection to one of Harsa's vanquished adversaries.⁶

Mo-la-po or Western Malwa, with its dependencies of Kita, identified with Cutch or Kheḍa; Ānandapura and Su-la-cha or Surat. Regarding Malwa, Yuan Chwang informs us that the local records told of a king, by name Śilāditya, who had reigned over the country sixty years before the pilgrim's arrival, a monarch of great administrative ability, and of rare kindness and compassion'. This Śilāditya has been identified with Śilāditya Dharmāditya of the Valabhi dynasty, whose nephew Dhruvabhata was ruling over Valabhi at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit. We may, therefore, infer that Śilāditya Dharmāditya was the original ruler of Valabhi, to which he annexed Western Malwa (or Mo-la-po); and that his nephew Dhruvabhata II, a contemporary of Yuan Chwang, was also in possession of Malwa with its three dependencies.

About Falapi or Valabhi Yuan Chwang records: 'The reigning sovereign was of Kshatriya birth, a nephew of Śīlāditya, the former king of Malava, and a son-in-law of the Śīlāditya reigning at Kānyakubja; his name was Tu-lo-po-po-ta (i.e.

¹ Ind. Ant., VIII, p. 244.

² Ind. Ant., IX, pp. 124-25.

⁸ Ibid., XI, p. 68.

⁴ Ibid., VI, pp. 84-87.

⁵ Also see in this connection: (a) a grant of the Yuvarāja Śīlāditya Sryāsraya (Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 74); (b) the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya II (*Ibid.*, XVI, p. 22).

⁶ See below. ⁷ Watters, II, p. 242; Beal, II, p. 261; *Life*, p. 148.

Dhruvabhaṭa); he was of a hasty temper, and of shallow views, but he was a sincere believer in Buddhism'.1

It is usually assumed that Valabhi was a feudatory state of Harsa. Dr. Vincent Smith discussing his campaigns remarks that after the flight Dhruvabhata 'was compelled to sue for peace, to accept the hand of the victor's daughter, and to be content with the position of a feudatory vassal'. He further adds: 'The same campaign may be presumed to have involved the submission of the kingdoms or countries of Anandapura, Kicha or Cutch (?), and Soratha or Southern Kathiawar, all of which in A.D. 641 were still reckoned to be dependencies of Mo-la-po, or Western Malava, formerly subject to Valabhi'.' The latest follower of Smith is Dr. R. K. Mookerji, and as this view is rather common among scholars, we proceed to examine how far the facts at our disposal justify it.

There is an interesting passage in the Nausari copperplate grant, which contains a reference to Harşa's fight with the king of Valabhi. We are told of 'the illustrious Dadda over whom, with the grace of a white cloud, there hung ceaselessly a canopy of glory, gained by protecting (or rescuing?) the lord of Valabhi, who had been overpowered by the great lord, the illustrious Harşa Deva'. 5 The Valabhi king, contemporary with Dadda II of Broach was Dhruvasena II, but Yuan Chwang calls the then monarch of this kingdom Tu-lo-po-pa-ta, or Dhruvabhata, so that we may suppose both the names to refer to one and the same person. Putting together the evidence of the Nausari inscription and of Yuan Chwang, we may further infer that Dhruvabhata or Dhruvasena II first sought the protection of Dadda II of Broach after meeting with a reverse against Harsa, and later on regained his power, being on the throne during the pilgrim's visit. We are, therefore, called upon to explain how a minor king—a mere Sāmanta—like that of

¹ Watters, II, p. 246; Beal, II, p. 267; Life, p. 149.

Early Hist. of India, 3rd ed., p. 340.
 Ibid. 4 Harsa, pp. 30-31.

⁵ Parameśvara-śrī-Harṣa-devābhibhūta Valabhi-pati (ri) trānopajāta bhramad adabhra subhrābhra vibhrama yaśovitānaḥ Srī Daddaḥ (Ind. Ant., XIII, pp. 77-79).

Broach, could afford protection to Dhruvabhata against the forces of Harşa, and what was his status after the restoration.

The answer to this query probably lies in the Aihole inscription, which informs us that 'subdued by his (Pulakeśi's) splendour, the Lāṭas, Mālavas, and Gurjaras became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave'.1 Commenting on this passage, Dr. Kielhorn remarked that the powers² mentioned above, being 'impressed by the majesty and power of Pulakeśi had voluntarily submitted to him, or sought his protection'.3 This must surely have been when they were threatened by the aggressions of the Kanauj king. Pulakeśi lent a willing ear to their appeal for succour, and as well pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,4 the confederacy thus formed was a formidable one, 'resulting in Harşa's complete discomfiture'. The fact that the Chālukya inscriptions do not mention any such joint action would not militate against this view, for the inscriptions represent those powers as feudatories; and they would naturally give the whole credit to a ruler of the dynasty.

Harsa gave way against these tremendous odds, and a treaty was arranged, stipulating the restoration of Dhruvabhata II, who (perhaps as a mark of the termination of hostilities) further accepted the hand of Harsa's daughter.⁵ This matrimonial arrangement was undoubtedly a masterly stroke of diplomacy, as it procured for Harsa the alliance of his quondam foe, who could henceforth be relied upon to restrain the northern ambitions (if any) of his great southern neighbour Pulakeśi II.

4 See J.B.O.R.S., 1923, p. 319 f., which I have used with profit in

preparing this paper.

¹ Ep. Ind., VI, p. 10, verse 22.

² They are obviously to be identified with the Bharoch and Valabhi kingdoms.

³ Ibid., note 5.

⁵ Such diplomatic marriages after a trial of strength were not unknown in ancient India. For instance, we are told that Seleukos Nikator ratified the peace with Chandragupta Maurya by a 'matrimonial alliance', although the expression used does not justify the current assumption that Seleukos 'gave his daughter in marriage' to his Indian rival (see also Smith's Aśoka, 3rd ed., p. 15 and note).

But even supposing the suggestion, offered above, to be utterly untenable, we have no grounds for inferring the subordination of Valabhi to Kanauj. There is no trace of it in Yuan Chwang's account, and it is also certain that Dhruvabhata II was on the throne during the time of the pilgrim's visit. He must have, therefore, regained his position by the power of his sword; and his previous defeat, referred to in the Nausari inscription, was no proof of feudatory rank. It might as well be said that by his failure against Pulakesi, Harsa was compelled to recognise the southern monarch as his suzerain and overlord.

The fact that Dhruvabhata attended the religious assembly at Prayaga does not prove anything about his status. He went there as Harşa's son-in-law, and as an independent prince like Bhāskaravarman. There was no 'element of political obligation' in his attendance. Moreover, Dhruvabhata himself used to hold such gatherings in his realm, and this circumstance must have also prompted him to witness the proceedings of a grander assembly. The Life says: 'He is faithfully attached to the three treasures, and every year he assembles a great gathering and for seven days he entertains priests from all countries and bestows on them food of the best description, choice jewels, bedding and clothes, with varieties of medicaments, and other things of different kinds'.1 Lastly, in the same connection the Life gives Dhruvabhata the significant title of 'King of South India',2 which speaks for itself and needs no comment. Thus, the available evidence does not justify the current assumption that Valabhi was a feudatory state of Kanauj.

Ku-che-lo, or the Gurjara kingdom: 'The king, who was a Kshatriya by birth, was a young man, celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and he was a profound believer in Buddhism, and a patron of exceptional abilities'.

Wu-she-yen-na or Ujjain: We are told that 'the king was of the Brahmin caste; he was well-learned in the heterodox lore, but he was not a Buddhist'.4

¹ Life, pp. 149-150. 2 Ibid., p. 185.

³ Watters, II, p. 249; Beal, II, p. 270.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 250; Beal, II, p. 271.

Chih-chi-to: identified with the kingdom of Jajhoti, the capital of which was Khajuraho, which corresponds with the modern region of Bundelkhand. As regards its government, the pilgrim informs us: 'The king, who was a Brahmin, was a firm believer in Buddhism, and encouraged men of merit, and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers'.'

Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-lo or Maheśvarapura: corresponding with the region round about Gwalior between the Chambal and the Sindhu rivers.² Yuan Chwang says: 'The king was a Brahmin, and was not a believer in Buddhism'.³

Sindh was under a vigorous government, and it had then at least three dependencies, viz. Atien-po-chih-lo or Atyanaba-kela⁴; Pi-to-shih-lo, identified by Cunningham with Haidarabad or Nirankot, and by General Haig with the Thar and Parker district of West India⁵; A-fan-tu, identical with Brahmanabad or the Khairpur territory.⁶

Bāna, on the other hand, would have us believe that Harşa pounded a king of Sindh, and appropriated the Rāja-lakshmī or fortune of that monarch. Probably what happened was that sometime during his reign Harşa came into collision with the king of Sindh, and it resulted in the defeat of the latter. But the victory was no more than a brilliant conclusion of hostilities, as in the case of Pulakeśi II, for we know definitely on the authority of Yuan Chwang that Sindh continued to be ruled by a king of the Sūdra caste, who was a sincere believer in Buddhism.

¹ Watters, II, p. 251; Beal, II, p. 271.

² See Map of India at the end of Watters, Vol. II.

³ Watters, II, p. 251; Beal, II, p. 271.

⁴ Watters, II, p. 256; Beal, II, p. 276. Watters restores the name as Kachchheśvara.

⁵ Watters, II, p. 258; Beal, II, p. 279.

⁶ Ibid.; Ibid.

⁷ Compare *Harṣacarita* 'Atra puruṣottamena Sindhurājam pramathya Lakshmīrātmīyā kritā.

 $^{^8}$ Watters, II, p. 252; Beal, II, p. 272. The Buddhist king of the Sūdra caste at the time of Yuan Chwang must have been Sihas-rai, son of Divāji, who was succeeded by his son Sāhasi. This dynasty seems to have preceded the one founded by the Brahman Chach, according to the Chach $N\bar{a}m\bar{a}$.

Conclusion

We have now finished our critical survey of Yuan Chwang's description of contemporary kingdoms, along with the evidence of other relevant authorities, in regard to the nature of their governments. There are indeed some very striking features in the narrative of the pilgrim. It is to be noticed that he is very careful to mention the political status of the countries he visited, and to name the dependencies of certain kingdoms, like Kapisa, Kashmir, Mālava and Sindh. In case of certain countries he even notes the transfer of allegiance, as we learn about Taxilla that it 'had been formerly subject to Kapiśa, but now it was a dependency of Kashmir'. About Lang-kie (Ka)lo he observes: 'It had no supreme government, each valley having a separate government of its own, but it was subject to Persia'. Again, in the case of A-tien-po-chih-lo the pilgrim notes: 'The country had latterly been without a sovereign, and was under Sindh'.3 Similarly, as regards Lampa or Lan-po he says: 'For several centuries the native dynasty had ceased to exist, great families fought for pre-eminence, and the state had recently become a dependency of Kapiśa'4; but he does not, strange to say, name one kingdom or territory as being subject to Kanauj, although he generally calls its king 'lord of the Five Indias,' and one who had 'conquered all the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to the remote districts'. Thus, if we take Yuan Chwang's account too literally we shall have to say with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that 'so far at least as these accounts are concerned, Harsavardhana was merely king of Kanaui '.6

But such a conclusion would indeed be entirely wide the mark as Yuan Chwang himself credits Harşa with extensive conquests and protracted military campaigns. The *Life* also describes him as a powerful monarch, attended by numerous feudatories during the assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga.

¹ Watters, I, p. 240; Beal, I, p. 136.

² Watters, II, p. 257; Beal, II, p. 277.

³ Watters, II, p. 256; Beal, II, p. 276.

⁴ Watters, I, p. 181; Beal, I, p. 90.

⁵ Beal, II, pp. 256-7; Life, p. 83.

⁶ J.B.O.R.S., 1923, p. 318.

Hence, however difficult it might be to determine the exact limits of the kingdom during his time, it is clear that by 'his military genius' Harşa enlarged them, thus winning for himself a high 'reputation for valour, to which Yuan Chwang bears eloquent testimony'. 1

Is it then to be assumed that the territories, about the governments of which Yuan Chwang maintains silence, were included within Kanauj? Probably the pilgrim thought that Harşa's dominions were too well-known to need any explicit mention, and relying on this assumption, we may well suppose that the following parts were under his authority:—

Ku-lu-to or Kullu; She-to-tu-lu or Satadru country; Mo-tu-lo or Mathura; Sa-ta-ni-ssn-fa-lo or Sthanīsvara; Srughna; Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo or Brahmapura; Ko-pi-sang-na or Govi-shana; Ngo-hi-chi-ta-lo or Ahichchhatra; Pi-lo-shan-na or Atranjikhera; Kapittha or Sankissa; A-yu-t-e or Ayodhyā; Aya-mu-kha or Daundiakhera; Prayāga; Kosambi; Pi-so-ka; Shi-lo-fa-si-tu or Srāvasti; Rāma or Rāmagrāma; Kusinagara; Po-lo-na-se or Varāṇasi; Fei-she-li or Vaisali; Fu-li-chih or the Vriji country; Magadha; I-lan-na-po-fa-to or Monghyr; Chanpo or Champa; Ka-chu-wen or Kajaangala; Pun-na-fa-tan-na or Punḍravardhana; Samatata; Tan-mo-lip-ti or Tamralipti; Karṇasuvarna; Wu-tu or Orissa; Kung-yu-to or Kongodha.

That some of these portions were actually within the empire of Harşa can be proved by means of independent evidence. We have already discussed above that his ancestral kingdom comprised Sthanviśvara, the valley of the Saraswati river, and parts of Eastern Rajputana. The find-spots of the Banskhera² and Madhuban plates,³ recording grants of land, show that Ahichchhatra and Sravasti formed *Bhuktis* or divisions of his empire. If the Śilāditya coins found in the Bhitaura hoard (Fyzabad district) are to be attributed to Harşa, as has been done by Sir Richard Burn,⁴ we have then direct

¹ Ibid., p. 320.

² Ep. Ind., IV, p. 208 f. See line 7 of the inscription.

⁸ Ibid., I, pp. 71-74.

⁴ J.R.A.S., 1906, pp. 843-860. Dr. Hoernle, however, doubts this attribution (J.R.A.S., 1909, pp. 446-448).

proof that Ayodhya was under Harşa. Likewise, Prayaga was certainly included, since it was the scene of Harsa's great charitable distribution. We may also add that Harsa's title 'King of Magadha', found in the Chinese documents connected with his embassy, unmistakably points to the same conclusion. Again, the fact that Sīlāditya held his court at Kajangala in his progress to East India is conclusive proof, as has been shown above, that his empire extended so far. We further know that Harsa was carrying on military operations in Kongodha as late as the year 643 A.D. Lastly, regarding Orissa we have grounds to believe that Harsa exercised his authority there. Life says that Śīlāditya constructed a Vihāra covered with brass plates by the side of the Nalanda monastery, about a hundred feet in height, and after the subjugation of Kongodha he camped in Orissa for a time. It is further evident from the fact that Sīlāditya made a munificent gift of 'the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa' to Jayasena, 'the admiration of the period', who in his characteristic otherworldliness declined the king's repeated offers.1

Negatively, the Chinese pilgrim indicates what states lay beyond the pale of Harşa's jurisdiction, by mentioning the ruling sovereigns of each.

These were:-

Po-li-ye-ta-lo or Bairat; Mo-ti-pu-lo (Matipura); Suvarṇa-gotra country; Kapilāvastu; Nipo-lo or Nepal; Ka-mo-lu-po or Kāmarūpa; Mo-ha-la-cha or Mahārāṣtra; Po-lu-ka-cha-po or Bharoch; Falapi or Valabhi; Kuche-lo or the Gurjara kingdom; Wu-she-yen-na or Ujjain; Chih-chi-to or Jajhoti; Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-lo or Maheśvarapura; Sindh.

We may, therefore, on the strength of Yuan Chwang's testimony and other epigraphic and literary evidences, roughly define the Kanauj kingdom of Harşa in modern geographical terminology as consisting of portions of Eastern Panjab, almost the whole of the present United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa including Kongodha or the Ganjam region.

That this view is substantially correct is further evident

from the fact that all the places mentioned in connection with Harşa's tours of inspection lie eastward. The *Life* tells us that when Yuan Chwang first met Harşa, he was camping at Kie-shu-ho-ki-lo or Kajangala in Bengal.¹ The Banskhera and Madhuban plates issued from Vardhamanakoti and Kapitthika or Sankissa respectively give two more camps. Among his other places of sojourn were Rajmahal, Prayāga, Manitara (Oudh)² and Orissa.³

Additional support for the above view may also be found in Yuan Chwang's description of Harşa as 'lord of the Five Indias', which has been explained as comprising Svarāṣṭra or the Panjab (i.e. Eastern parts of the Panjab in this case), Kānyakubja, Mithila or Bihar, Gauḍa or Bengal, and Utkala or Orissa.⁴

Thus the whole evidence harmonises remarkably well, and it is high time to give up all exaggerated notions of Harşa's sovereignty or political jurisdiction extending up to Kashmir and Sindh, Gujarat and even the far South, Kāmarūpa (Assam) and Nepal. Such a view is flagrantly opposed to the unimpeachable contemporary testimony of Yuan Chwang. Besides, there is nothing in the inscriptions to support it. These territories themselves were of sufficiently imposing dimensions, being much larger than any other individual state in Northern India; and this was the reason why the power and majesty of Harsa made such a deep impression upon the illustrious Master of the Law.⁵

¹ Life, p. 172; Watters, II, p. 183.

² Harsacarita (English translation), p. 46.

³ It is to be noted that to the other places in the South, Harsa went in the capacity of an unwelcome invader, and not as a ruler anxious to relieve the distress of his subjects.

⁴ Havell's Aryan Rule in India, p. 191; D. C. Sen's History of Bengali language and literature, p. 385; Smith's Early History of India, 4th ed., p. 353.

⁵ Before concluding we must explain the phenomenon of small kingdoms like Matipura, Maheśvarapura, and Jajhoti, etc., almost adjacent to Kanauj. These States must have offered their alliance, like Kāmarūpa, at the very start of Harṣa's career in order to save themselves from being swept away by his war-frenzy. And Harṣa, who stood in

An objection

A possible objection to our view may be raised in the title 'Sakalottarāpathanātha', given to Harṣa in the southern inscriptions. This has been interpreted as implying that Harsa 'achieved the proud position of being the paramount sovereign of the whole of Northern India'.1 But there are grounds for supposing that the epithet does not bear any geographical significance. There is mention of another 'Sakalottarapathanātha' in the inscriptions of Chālukya Vinayāditya,2 and the suggested identification is that in all probability he was one of the successors of Mahārājadhirāja Ādityasena in the later Gupta line of Magadha. In this case, however, it is known beyond doubt that his dominions did not comprise the whole of Northern India. It is thus evident that the expression 'Sakalottarāpathanātha' was used in a vague and loose way, and did not necessarily connote the whole of the region extending from the Himalayas to the Vindhya ranges.

Harsa and the Far South

In connection with our topic we may also take notice of the following lines in praise of Harsa, attributed to Mayūra, who is reputed to have been the father-in-law of Bāṇa:

'Bhūpālāḥ Śaśibhāskarānvayabhuvaḥ ke nāma nāsāditaḥ, Bhartāram punar ekam eva hi bhuvas tvām deva manyāmahe |

dire need of allies then, astutely tolerated their continued existence. Regarding those powers, which lay in the route of his southern march, it appears that they maintained their autonomy by giving a passage to the forces of Harsa through their territories; or if they had to submit to his yoke they must have taken advantage of his discomfiture when warring against Pulakeśi II. Yuan Chwang visited these parts after this event; and it is certain from his narrative that these territories were then under their native rulers.

¹ Harsa, p. 43.

² Compare for example: 'Vinayāditya Satyāśraya had acquired the insignia of supreme dominion by crushing the lord of all the region of the North' (Sakal-ottara-patha-nātha-mathan-opārjjita). Ind. Ant., IX, p. 129; *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 107, III.

Yenāngam parimṛṣya Kuntalam athākṛṣya vyudasyāyatam, Cholam prāpyaca Madhyadeśam adhunā kāñcyām karaḥ pātitaḥ 1 |

It is thought that reference is here made to the southern conquests of Harşa as far as Kuntala, Chola, and Kañchi.

Support for this view is further found in the Gaddemane inscription, in which we come across the following passage in characters of the 7th century:

'Svasti Śrī Śila-ādityan diśām-bharggan ākevaļan aggaļakantakan,

Péralke vare Pettani Satyānkan aṭṭulabhatam bedare Mahendran,

Bedara rāyara Malappara Kalegaduļe vividu svarggālaya Kkeridan beļeya maļa kādon kalyānam akke aļivon pañch-ma.'

It mentions the death of one Pettani Satyānka, while engaged in a fight against some Beda chiefs, when Śīlāditya invaded the south, and Mahendra took to flight. It is supposed that the name Śīlāditya refers to Harṣa of Kanauj, and Mahendra to his Pallava contemporary Mahendravarman I.²

The theory of Harsa's invasion of the south does not, however, seem to rest on solid foundations. Firstly, the identification of Śīlāditya with Harsa is far from certain. Dr. R. C. Majumdar identifies him with Yuvarāja Sryāśraya Śīlāditya, who lived in the second half of the 7th century A.D., and Mahendra with Mahendravarman II, on the ground that there was 'constant hostility between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas' about this period. Secondly, it does not seem probable that Harsa could play the rôle of a second Samudragupta, or that his victorious arms could penetrate so far south, when at the very frontiers of the Deccan he had to bear the humiliation of an ignominious defeat at the hands of Pulakesi II,

¹ J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 487; Ind. Hist. Quart., Dec., 1927, p. 788.

² Ann. Rep. Mysore Arch. Dept., 1923, p. 83; Ind. Hist. Quart., Dec., 1927, pp. 788-89.

³ Ind. Hist. Quart., V, 1929, p. 235.

VOL. XVIII. PT. III.] ON THE EXTENT OF HARSA'S EMPIRE 331

who also claims to have won a victory against the Pallava king. Thirdly, the passage of Mayūra has hardly any air of reality and appears as 'praise in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet, given to punning, and without any reference to historical accuracy'.

IV.—Mīr Qāsim at Patna, 1761.

By Nandalal Chatterji,

Lecturer in Indian History, University of Lucknow.

The political situation in Bihar had been a source of perpetual anxiety to Mir Jafar owing to the repeated incursions of the Shahzadah, and the rebellion of powerful Zemindars. Mīr Qāsim came to power at a time when the Shahzadah 1 was still in Bihar aided by Law and rebellious Zemindars.2 The Nawab's troops were mutinous 3 for want of pay, and in no mood to fight against the enemy. Many of them were even deserting to the Shahzadah.4 The Nawab had paid them only a part of their dues. 5 but still they did not fully co-operate with the Company's troops. The principal officials of the Nawab in Bihar -Ramnarayan and Rajballabh-were jealous of each other, and their mutual wrangles 6 not only caused a dislocation of the administrative affairs, but also prevented the Company's officers from inflicting a decisive defeat on the Shahzadah. The Nawab's troops whose pay was heavily in arrears were kept under control with great difficulty. Rajballabh was openly abused by them for non-payment of salary, and his life itself was in danger. This state of affairs certainly encouraged the Shahzadah and his adherents in their designs. The Nawab's presence was urgently needed at Patna to stop the continual dissensions among his officers, to assist the Company's troops in driving out the Shahzadah, to chastise the hostile Zemindars, and to regulate the affairs of the province.8 Mir Qāsim was, however, not

¹ Mīr Qāsim had sent a petition to the Shahzadah even before his accession with a view to gain his goodwill. Bengal Sel. Com., 24th September, 1760.

² Bengal Sel. Com., 4th December, 1760, and Shah Alam Namah, p. 129.

³ Ibid., 6th November, 1760, and Shah Alam Namah, p. 168.

⁴ Ibid., 19th November, 1760. ⁵ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, pp. 3-4.

⁶ The Siyar, p. 700. (Lucknow Text.)

Beng. Sel. Com., 14th December, 1760.
 Ibid., 5th January, 1761.

in a position to go to Patna in spite of the strong representation of Ghulam Hussain who had been sent by Major Carnac to persuade him to come to Patna immediately, because early in January, 1761, he was busy with the military operations against the Raja of Birbhum. He could not leave for Patna without establishing himself securely in Bengal. All that he could do was to send considerable sums for payment to the troops in Bihar.²

The Nawab, however, decided ³ to leave for Bihar immediately after punishing the Birbhum Raja, because he was getting suspicious of the intentions of the Shahzadah. He apprehended ⁴ that the English officers in Bihar might intrigue against him with the latter. He would never feel secure so long as the Mughal prince remained in the country.⁵

Luckily for the Nawab, the Shahzadah was decisively defeated on January 15, 1761, by Carnac who having taken command at Patna on December 31, 1760, had taken the field with the Company's troops unassisted by the Nawab's army. The Shahzadah now wanted to come to an understanding with the English and to return to Delhi, as the Abdali was reported to have recognised him as the Emperor of Delhi. He realised that the English could be his invaluable allies in the near future, so he decided to settle the terms of peace with them, and met Carnac on 6th February, who honourably escorted him to Patna. They reached there on the 14th of February. This dramatic turn of events made it imperative for the Nawab to hurry to Patna immediately. The news of the Shahzadah's arrival at Patna caused him great anxiety. He was extremely apprehensive of

¹ The Siyar, p. 700. (Lucknow Text.)

² Bengal Sel. Com., 6th November, 1760. Bengal Sel. Com., 19th January, 1761. Vansittart Narrative, I, pp. 178-9.

³ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 4. 4 Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁵ Zemindars like Pahalwan Singh intrigued with the Shahzadah. (See Shah Alam Namah, p. 169.)

⁶ Bengal Sel. Com., 22nd January, 1761.

⁷ Ibid., 19th January, 1761. 8 Ibid., 10th February, 1761.

⁹ Ibid., 17th and 28th February, 1761.

¹⁰ Ibid., 28th February, 1761. 11 Ibid.

¹² Muzaffar-Namah, p. 310. (Alld. Univ. MS.)

¹³ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 355. Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

a close alliance between the Shahzadah and the Company, and he determined to prevent it. What alarmed him most was the Governor's communication to him that the Shahzadah intended to proceed to Delhi with the assistance of the English. After the pacification of Birbhum in February, the Nawab left for Patna attended by a detachment under Major York, and reached Baikuntpur in the beginning of March. There he was met by Carnac, Ramnarayan, and Rajballabh who paid their respects to him.

The Nawab evinced a queer suspicion of the Shahzadah. and had recently recalled the forces of Ramnaravan and Raiballabh who had been sent by Carnac to subdue Kamgar Khan. a rebel Zemindar. This brought about an unpleasant misunderstanding with Carnac during the interview 5 at Baikuntpur. This incident demonstrates how the Nawab lacked all military sense. Although he had been informed by Mr. Vansittart that Carnac would follow his instructions, and obey him implicitly,6 he ought to have realised the necessity of consulting the latter before sending for Ramnarayan and Rajballabh with their forces. Carnac was justified in feeling that the Nawab had no right to upset his plans without previously informing him 7 about it, as the whole responsibility of the military operations rested with him. During his very first interview with the Nawab, Carnac made it perfectly clear to the latter that it was he who was ultimately responsible for the direction of the English forces, and that he must not be expected to render implicit obedience in the matter of military operations. This plain speaking on the part of Carnac offended 8 the Nawab who thought he had every right to dictate to him in all matters. Mīr Qāsim had obviously recalled the forces, as he did not

¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 126, pp. 22-23, and Beng. Sel. Com., 17th February, 1761.

² Vans. I, p. 179, and Beng. Sel. Com., 26th January, 1761.

³ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 13.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 174, pp. 53-54.

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th March, 1761.

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 197, p. 68.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 185. Carnac to Sel. Com., 6th March, 1761.

⁸ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 5, and Vans. I, p. 188.

consider himself sufficiently secure without their presence at Patna. Regardless of its undesirable consequences to the military operations against Kamgar Khan, and overwhelmed with needless fear, he provoked Carnac by throwing the whole responsibility of subduing Kamgar Khan's country on the Company's detachment under Captain Champion. Carnac, therefore, rightly recalled Captain Champion on the ground that he could not remain unassisted by the Nawab's troops in a country with which he was wholly unfamiliar. The Nawab was unreasonably enraged at this, and questioned the action of Carnac. The only direct result of this misunderstanding was that the Nawab's suspicions of the English officers were deepened, and he became hyper-sensitive in all his dealings with them during his stay at Patna.

At Patna, the Nawab encamped with his men on the eastern side of the city near Jafar Khan's garden.2 He did not think it prudent to go to the fort, nor did he like to dismiss Major York and his men.3 The real reason was that he did not trust either Carnac or Ramnarayan. With the latter he was displeased from the beginning for his dilatoriness in following his instructions.4 He exhibited a curious aversion to the Shahzadah who, he knew, had offered to grant the Company the Diwani and Subahdari of Bengal.⁵ He could not be easily persuaded to offer his respects to him. Carnac tried in vain⁶ to introduce him to the honoured guest. The Nawab positively refused to go to the Shahzadah's quarters.7 Suspicious by nature as he was, he may have anticipated some foul play. He did not think himself safe there, such was his strange nervousness; nor would he visit the Shahzadah except on a lucky day.8 After some futile negotiation, an auspicious



¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th March, 1761.

² Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

³ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 177, p. 56.

⁴ This fact is alluded to only in the Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), pp. 312-3.

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 11th December, 1760.

⁶ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 313.

⁷ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 355.

⁸ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 14.

day was fixed, and Carnac requested the Nawab to consent to an interview on that day.¹ It was, however, agreed that the meeting should take place in the English Factory where alone the Nawab could be persuaded to go.² He even insisted that the Shahzadah should come with a small retinue. Carnac had to induce the latter to bring a few followers only.³

The English Factory presented a gay appearance on the appointed day, and the central hall was decorated to serve the purpose of a Diwan-i-Khas. Shah Alam (as the Shahzadah had proclaimed himself) came into the hall,4 and cordially welcomed 5 the Nawab who made the usual three bows, and presented a 'nazar' of one thousand and one gold coins, a quantity of jewels, and other costly articles.6 These Shah Alam graciously accepted,7 and in return honoured the Nawab with presents, invested him with a 'Sarpech', and even consented to dine at the same table with him.8 Thus ended the first interview after the payment of the customary 'peshkash'. The Nawab was, however, at heart extremely annoyed at the presence of Shah Alam whom he held responsible for the confusion of his affairs at Patna.9 He even complained to Mr. Vansittart that he could not afford to pay the allowances fixed for his guest, and grumbled at his lack of resources. He had consented to pay the daily allowance of the Shahzadah very reluctantly. He at first gave him Rs. 1,000 a day, but as this did not prove sufficient, another three hundred rupees had to be added. 10 The Shahzadah still complained that this amount was too small to support his rank and file.11 The Governor then

¹ 4th Shaban—vide Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 314, and Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 736, 12th March, vide Carnac's letter to the Select Committee, 20th March.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

³ Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Khulasat (*J.B.O.R.S.*), V, p. 356. Ghulam Hussaîn also gives a long description of the improvised hall of audience and the whole interview. (Siyar, p. 703.)

⁵ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 5. ⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

⁷ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 314.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 182, pp. 58-9.

⁹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

¹⁰ Beng. Sel. Com., 17th March, 1761.

¹¹ Ibid., 31st March, 1761.

requested the Nawab to pay Rs. 500 more.¹ Mir Qāsim was, however, feeling impatient ² at the prolonged stay of his guest who was being entertained at his expense. The Select Committee rightly agreed with Mr. McGuire that the allowance was an insignificant sum compared to the vast amount spent during the previous years to keep him off the province.³

All the time, the Nawab complained against Carnac. It is necessary, therefore, to suggest the reasons why he was so prejudiced against the latter:—

- (i) Carnac did not adopt a humble attitude towards the Nawab, and so the latter's vanity was hurt 4;
- (ii) Mir Qāsim suspected that Carnac might intrigue against him, as he had not approved of his elevation to the masnad;
- (iii) The Nawab wrongly believed that Carnac wanted to belittle him in the eyes of Shah Alam ⁵;
- (iv) Carnac was further known to be supporting Ramnarayan whom the Nawab wanted to punish and remove from his office of Diwan of Patna⁶;
- (v) The Nawab was highly annoyed at the suggestion of Carnac that the Council should arbitrate upon his complaints against Ramnarayan ⁷;
- (vi) The Nawab also believed that Carnac was not helping him sincerely in settling the distracted province, and crushing the power of the rebellious Zemindars;
- (vii) Mīr Qāsim apprehended⁸ that Carnac was intentionally detaining the Emperor to secure the subahdari for the Company;
- (viii) It was because Carnac had brought the Emperor to Patna, that the Nawab was obliged to pay the

¹ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 15, and Beng. Sel. Com., 17th March, 1761.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

³ Beng. Sel. Com., 9th April, 1761.

⁴ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ Ibid., p. 7. Reng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁸ The Shahzadah recently offered the subahdari to the Company—and refused to grant it to Mīr Qāsim. (Beng. Sel. Com., 9th April, 1761.)

'peshkash', and promise a yearly tribute which had been withheld by his predecessors. The Nawab deemed it an unnecessary burden on his limited resources, and blamed the English for having unduly magnified the importance of a fugitive Mughal adventurer. He vainly requested Carnac to persuade the Emperor to leave immediately, and even asked the Council at Calcutta not to recognise the Shahzadah.

Once the fiction of Shah Alam's supremacy over Bengal was acknowledged, negotiations had to be commenced on behalf of the unwilling Nawab in regard to the annual tribute payable to the Emperor. Shitab Rai was the intermediary in these negotiations,² and after a good deal of bargaining, it was settled that the Nawab was to pay 24 lakhs of rupees annually.³ While these negotiations were going on, Mir Qāsim learnt that Shuja-ud-daulah under the pretence of paying his respects to the Emperor was coming towards Bihar in order to create disturbances and help the disaffected.⁴ The Nawab grew very nervous at this, and determined to prevent a junction between the Wazir of Oudh and the Emperor. He wrote to the Governor saying that Shuja-ud-daulah should not be allowed to enter Bihar on any account. Mr. Vansittart placated the Nawab by asking the Wazir to remain on the confines of his own dominions.⁵

Matters were thus in a confused state at Patna. The Emperor was ill at ease, impatient to be escorted to Delhi. The Nawab was eager to see him leave his country. Hard pressed for money, he bitterly complained to Mr. Vansittart against Carnac, and Ramnarayan was alleged to have refused so far to submit the accounts of his administration of Bihar. It was at this juncture that Carnac was superseded ⁶ by Coote who was

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

² The Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 356.

³ Tarikh-i-Muzaffari. (Alld. Univ. MS.) p. 737. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 356; Siyar, p. 703. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8 and Beng. Sel. Com., 28th March, 1761.

⁵ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 286 A., p. 135.

⁶ Vans. I, p. 191.

sent to Patna with civil powers also.¹ Mr. Vansittart again committed the mistake of acquainting the Nawab that Coote was to obey all his injunctions,² and thus prepared the way for a repetition of the misunderstanding that had already taken place between the Nawab and Carnac. Mīr Qāsim should have been plainly told that Coote was not to be treated as his paid servant, but was to be regarded as a trusted friend. However, the Nawab fondly hoped ³ that Coote would be more obedient to him than Carnac had been. Mr. Vansittart repeatedly assured him that Coote would act according to his orders, and would help him in all matters.⁴

The Nawab, shrewd and selfish as he was, wanted to win over Coote, and regulate the affairs of Bihar according to his own fancy through the latter's help and active co-operation. He spared no pains to secure the alliance of the Colonel, but his disappointment was acute when he realised that the latter was not going to be a puppet in his hands! The Nawab wrote to Mr. Vansittart, 'I have observed all the customs and forms in entertainments of eating and reciprocal visits more attentively and more heartily with him than I ever did with any other person'.5 The Nawab's words are too significant to be lost sight of. There is no doubt about the fact that he aimed at cultivating the friendship of Coote with the ulterior object of using him as a tool in his designs specially against Ramnarayan. He was, however, tactless from the very beginning, and alienated the sympathy of Coote. Firstly, he showed an exaggerated aversion to Nand Kumar whom Coote had appointed as his Diwan.6 Secondly, he unreasonably insisted that Coote should visit him before meeting Shah Alam,7 which the Colonel rightly refused to do.8 Thirdly, he did not conceal his repugnance to the want of sufficient

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 20th May, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 233, p. 95. ³ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 245 and 246, pp. 102-5.

⁵ Vans. I, p. 209. 6 Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 15th June, 1761.

⁸ *Ibid.*, and Coote's Diary (Orme MSS.) quoted by Prof. Dodwell in his 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209 (footnote).

humility in Coote's conduct during the first interview,¹ and imagined that it was due to the intrigue of the disaffected.² Lastly, he needlessly irritated Coote who was known to have disapproved of the late revolution by bluntly inquiring of him whether another Nawab would be appointed in his place.³ Such a greeting, as Professor Dodwell truly remarks, was ill-calculated to convert Coote.⁴ Besides, during the first interview⁵ the Nawab insisted that Ramnarayan, whom Coote had been instructed to protect, should be turned out immediately, and that the Emperor too should be asked to leave. Coote not only did not agree to these proposals, but criticised the Nawab's policy in spending 16 lakhs of rupees on his rabble army, and advised him to disband a large part of it. All this served to cause the Nawab's annoyance.

Mīr Qāsim tried his best to humour Coote, but soon grew disgusted with him when he realised that the latter was not going to be dictated to in any way. Serious misunderstanding soon arose in connexion with the Shahzadah. The Nawab was eager to secure the 'sanad' for 'subahdari' from the latter. and complained that Coote was deliberately preventing him from getting it.⁶ He complained so bitterly of it to Mr. Vansittart that the latter really believed that Coote had intentionally opposed the Nawab's application for the sanad.7 The Nawab further suspected that Coote did not like that he should be confirmed in his 'subahdari' by the Emperor. As a matter of fact Coote did not maliciously oppose the Nawab's application for a 'sanad'. The Nawab himself refused to pay adequately for it to the Emperor, hence the latter did not agree to grant it. The Emperor also did not like him for his being a 'sayyid', however, he would certainly have granted the sanad, if the Nawab had been prepared to pay a handsome 'peshkash'! Mr. Vansittart himself asked him in vain to pay a decent amount.8 Under the circum-

¹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8.

² Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 8. ³ Coote's Diary, 21st May, 1761.

⁴ Prof. Dodwell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209 (footnote).

⁵ Beng. Sel. Com., 5th June, 1761.

⁶ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9. 7 Vans. I, p. 196.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 209, pp. 76-7.

stances, therefore, the Nawab's complaint against Coote was a deliberate perversion of truth! The Nawab further believed without any justification that Shah Alam's departure was being forcibly delayed by Coote and Carnac.¹ He desired to get rid of his unwelcome guest by any means, fair or foul!² A part of his mutinous troops had recently attacked the Shahzadah's camp, and had been repelled by the Company's troops who reported that the Nawab himself had instigated his troops against the Emperor.³ In spite of Coote's request, he refused to proclaim the Shahzadah as Emperor.⁴

The author of the Muzaffar-Namah gives a graphic account of the Nawab's mean trick to bring about the quick departure of the Shahzadah.⁵ The Court eunuch, Bahadur Ali Khan, was induced to represent to his master that it was neither safe, nor dignified to stay at Patna any longer. The apparent loyalty and anxiety of his servant touched the heart of the prince, and he resolved to leave early in June. The author of the Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh also says.⁶ 'The officers of the Emperor marked some change in the conduct of Qasim Ali Khan.' They thus perfectly corroborate the statement of Carnac that the Nawab bribed some of the Shahzadah's officers so that they might induce their master to go.⁷

The Nawab's object was soon realised. The Emperor left Patna on the 5th of June.⁸ Before his departure, usual ceremonies and formalities had to be gone through, and the leave-taking proved a costly affair to Mīr Qāsim. He had to offer the customary presents including a number of elephants and

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 8th May, 1761.

² Mr. Holwell thus defended the attitude of the Nawab: 'That the Nawab should be anxious to get the King out of the provinces as soon as possible, we can account for, and justly vindicate, from causes very obvious.' *Vide* his 'Refutation of a Letter from Certain Gentlemen of the Council at Bengal'.

³ Beng. Sel. Com., 8th May, 1761.

⁴ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 17, Beng. Sel. Com., 6th May, 1761.

⁵ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), pp. 315-6.

⁶ J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 386, and 'Riyazus-Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 381'.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁸ Ibid., 13th June, 1761.

other valuable articles,¹ and a cash 'nazar' of a little more than two lakhs.² The Emperor in return conferred upon him a 'mansab' of 7,000 horse, and the high-sounding title³ of 'Nawab Ali Jah Nasim-ul-Mulk Imtiazu-d-daulah Qasim Ali Khan Nusrat Jang'. The Nawab, in accordance with oriental etiquette requested the Emperor to postpone his departure, regretted the small amount that he had been able to pay him, and hoped that he would be able to pay one lakh per day after the rainy season.⁴ The guest was too clever to be coaxed by the hollow formality of his host, and he left with a detachment of Company's troops under Carnac. The Nawab was unquestionably relieved!

Mir Qāsim was now free to apply himself assiduously to the task of bringing Ramnarayan under his control. For some time past, he had tried to supplant the Naib at Patna, and now he was determined not only to drive him out of his office, but also to punish him adequately for his alleged disaffection. He had, however, failed so far to take him to task owing to the support that Ramnarayan received from Carnac and Coote. It would be better to summarise the Nawab's principal grievances against the 'Naib':—

- (i) A large amount was alleged to be due from the Naib 5;
- (ii) The latter was reported to have refused to submit the papers and accounts regarding the 'subah' of Bihar⁶;
- (iii) The Nawab also complained of the improper behaviour of the Naib, 7 and was annoyed at the latter's delay in welcoming him.8

¹ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 317.

² Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6, and Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 229, pp. 92-93.

 $^{^3}$ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), p. 386, and 'Riyazus-Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 381'.

⁴ Coote's Letter, vide Beng. Sel. Com., 13th June, 1761.

⁵ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7. Beng. Sel. Com., 21st April, 1761.

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 234, p. 96.

⁷ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 6.

⁸ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 312.

- (iv) Nawab further suspected him to have been responsible for the confusion of affairs in his 'subah', and charged him with the grossest disaffection.¹
- (v) Ramnarayan was further held responsible for the difficulties in collecting the total dues from the Zemindars²;
- (vi) The Nawab even complained of numerous disturbances in the province by Ramnarayan's men³;
- (vii) Ramnarayan was supposed to have inflamed the mind of Coote against the Nawab 4;
- (viii) The Nawab was also mistrustful of him owing to his alleged intimacy with the Shahzadah ⁵;
 - (ix) The Naib was reputed to be extremely rich, and the Nawab believed that the latter must have been regularly misappropriating Government revenues ⁶;
 - (x) Ramnarayan was alleged to have spread the report that the Nawab was preparing to attack the English force at Patna ⁷; and,
 - (xi) He was reported to have proclaimed the Shahzadah as Emperor without the Nawab's sanction, or knowledge.8

It is clear from contemporary evidence that the above complaints are either entirely groundless, or grossly exaggerated. He certainly delayed in submitting his accounts, and failed to submit the whole of it. Besides, it is certain that he did prejudice Coote against the Nawab only to escape the latter's wrath, and earn the goodwill of the former. The other charges could never be proved, and were only vague insinuations. It is an undisputed fact that the Nawab had from the very beginning of his rule showed a profound distrust 9 of Ramnarayan on account of his known connexion with the English, and only looked for an opportunity to humiliate and punish him. The Nawab's

¹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7. ² Ibid., p. 9. ³ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴ Muzaffar-Namah, p. 319. (Alld. Univ. MS.) ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁶ First Report, p. 164 (Carnac's evidence). Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 216. 8 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁹ Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 317; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 363; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.), p. 774; Siyar, p. 705. (Lucknow Text.)

object was to get rid of all those people who had any connexion with the Company. He knew that Ramnarayan had been maintained by Clive as a check on his predecessor, and would remain so on him, if he was not to be immediately removed. He resented 2 the protection that the English officers had been consistently giving to the Naib, and bitterly complained about it to Mr. Vansittart in order to prejudice him 8 against the former. and even succeeded in convincing him of the disaffection and treachery of Ramnarayan.4 The Nawab counted upon Mr. Mc-Guire as his friend whom he won over by bestowing upon him constant favours and presents.⁵ Mr. McGuire was induced by the shrewd Nawab to report to the Governor against Ramnarayan.6 It must be understood, however, that the Select Committee had successively instructed Carnac and Coote to support the cause of Ramnarayan, and protect his life and honour.7 To Ramnarayan himself the Governor wrote several times promising him his support.8 Carnae was informed by the Select Committee, 'We direct you, in case of necessity, to proteet Ramnarayan against all violence and injustice that may be offered to his person, honour, or fortune'.9 It is because Carnac defended the Naib from any maltreatment that he incurred the wrath of the Nawab.10 The latter on his part persisted in complaining against Ramnarayan's chicanery and deceitfulness.11 Coote was, therefore, specially instructed to adjust the misunder-

¹ Scrafton's 'Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative, p. 32'.

² Beng. Sel. Com., 18th June, 1761. Vide minute of dissent by Amyatt who rightly argued that the Nawab had been fully aware of the firm friendship existing between Ramnarayan and the English, and it was for this alone that the Nawab wanted to ruin him. Mr. Amyatt further stated that the Naib had never been disloyal, nor had he misappropriated the revenues. Mr. Amyatt's minute, and that of Mr. Ellis cannot be lightly rejected on the ground of their bias against the Nawab.

³ Vans. I, pp. 217-8. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196. ⁵ Siyar, 706.

⁶ Letter from Mr. McGuire to Mr. Vansittart, 17th June, 1761.

⁷ Vans. I, p. 180 and p. 193.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 155 and 257. Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 61.

⁹ Beng. Sel. Com., 9th February, 1761.

¹⁰ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 7.

¹¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 28th April, 1761.

standing amicably, and to protect the Naib from oppression, and also to support him in the government of Patna.¹

Mr. Vansittart at first wanted to be lenient to Ramnaravan, and requested the Nawab to settle his accounts amicably.² But, the Nawab went on complaining with redoubled bitterness, and scarcely a letter passed between him and the Governor, which did not contain some imputation against the Naib. Mr. Vansittart was at last convinced of the latter's guilt.3 With his characteristic generosity, he permitted the Nawab to do as he pleased with Ramnarayan 4; and rebuked the latter for the impropriety of his conduct.⁵ This marked the Governor's tacit acquiescence in the Nawab's policy against the Naib, and the virtual withdrawal of protection so long promised The Nawab, in order to be sure of the alliance of Mr. Amvatt whom he knew to be a supporter of the Naib sent Ghulam Hussain to Calcutta on a confidential mission to Mr. Ghulam Hussain writes 6.... (the Nawab)....proposed to me a voyage to Calcutta. "You are," said he "in connection with Mr. Amyatt, the great supporter of Ramnarayan. I wish, therefore, you would go to Calcutta, and manage so as that he might let go his hold of that man, and join me, as I want the Council's consent for my bringing that Governor under control".'

At Patna, however, Coote consistently supported Ramnarayan who represented to him with reason that he could not clear off the accounts unless the Zemindars paid their arrears of revenue.⁷ Mr. Vansittart strongly objected to Coote's excessive attachment to the Naib.⁸

Ramnarayan had been virtually suspended from his office in April,⁹ and was ordered in May to submit all his papers. It must be admitted that his accounts had not been properly kept,

¹ *Ibid.*, 21st April, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 224, pp. 95-96. ³ Vans. I, p. 196.

⁴ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 263 and 291. ⁵ Ibid., No. 264, p. 118.

⁶ Siyar, p. 705 (Lucknow Text) and Translation (Calcutta Reprint). II, p. 412.

⁷ Beng. Sel. Com., 5th June, 1761.

⁸ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 309, pp. 153-4.

⁹ Ibid., No. 245, pp. 102-3.

and he was now in a great difficulty. He knew that the Nawab was bent on punishing him, so he could not expect any leniency from the Nawab. He sought to avail himself of the protection of Coote, and quickly managed to make friends with him. It is from him that Coote received innumerable reports about the hostile intentions harboured by Mir Qasim against the English. 1 Most of these no doubt originated in 'bazaar' gossip. and were highly exaggerated stories—but the clever 'Naib' knew that it was only by thoroughly poisoning Coote's mind against the Nawab that he might escape the latter's tyranny. Coote was already annoyed with the Nawab for his reluctance 2 to proclaim the Shahzadah as Emperor even though the latter had left Patna. The Nawab too was indignant with Coote for his strong attitude, and suspected that the latter was negotiating to obtain the Diwani for the Company from the Emperor.3 Under the circumstances, it is quite natural that there should have arisen a serious misunderstanding between the Nawab and Coote.4 The latter, therefore, readily believed all that Ramnarayan, or others used to tell him about the Nawab and his designs.

Mīr Qāsim was asked by Coote to enter the fort on 15th June, and cause the 'sikkahs' to be struck, and the 'khutbah' to be read in Shah Alam's name, but this the Nawab refused to do (although he had agreed 5 previously), unless the English sepoys and guards were removed from the city gates. It was without doubt a frivolous objection, and naturally irritated Coote. He rightly pointed out to the Nawab that these sepoys had been instructed to obey his orders, were a part of his own army, and that they were absolutely necessary to protect the Nawab from his own mutinous troops who were intent on plundering the city according to his own report. Coote had also agreed to place some of the Nawab's people together with his own at the gates. It was therefore certainly strange that the Nawab wanted to drive the Company's sentries and guards from the city. Coote

¹ Siyar, p. 706. (Lucknow Text.) ² Vans. I, p. 243 (Coote's Letter).

³ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, Nos. 355 and 386.

⁴ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 19. 5 Vans. I, p. 211.

⁶ Coote's Letter to Mr. Vansittart, Narrative, I, p. 239.

⁷ Ibid., p. 240.

cannot be blamed, if he regarded it as an indication of the Nawab's inexplicable suspicion and jealousy of the English troops. At any rate, it was clear that Mīr Qāsim wanted to postpone the function of the proclamation on some excuse. The Nawab gave no reply till the 15th, when he suddenly sent a letter to Coote at night curtly refusing to stir out of his camp, and perform the ceremony in person unless the sepoys were removed from the gates. The time, and the manner of sending the letter mystified Coote, and aroused his suspicion. He, therefore, decided to see the Nawab next morning, and settle the matter satisfactorily. It is noteworthy that the Nawab did not grant an interview. This naturally intensified the suspicions of Coote who ordered messengers to watch what passed in the Nawab's camp, and to report to him everything about it.¹

Ramnarayan heard all about it, and deemed this a fit opportunity to be exploited to his advantage. There is sufficient evidence to prove Ramnarayan's scheme to bring about an open rupture between Coote and the Nawab. He offered a bribe of Rs. 2,000 to one of Coote's messengers, and induced him to inform the Colonel that the Nawab was busy preparing a surprise attack on the city.2 He also met Coote in person, and informed him that Mīr Qāsim cherished hostile intentions against the English 3; and in order to further convince Coote of it, he ordered his own troops to be in readiness.4 Coote was informed that the Nawab had doubled his guards,5 and that unusual military preparations were apace.⁶ All these reports naturally made Coote anxious for his own safety, as the greater part of the forces had been taken away by Carnac. He resolved to have an interview with the Nawab next morning, and at about six started with 30 European Cavalry and a company of sepoys who were his usual attendants.7 He had sent Mr. Watts earlier to inform the Nawab that he was coming to wait upon him.8

¹ Vans. I, p. 242.

² Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 318.

³ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 604. ⁴ Siyar, p. 706.

⁵ Coote's Letter to Mr. Vansittart, Narrative, I, p. 242.

⁶ Coote's Diary, 15-16th June, 1761. Reference in Professor Dodwell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209.

⁷ First Report. Coote's evidence, p. 166.

⁸ Vans. I, p. 245.

Coote reached the Nawab's tents by seven, and alighted near the Durbar tent. He did not intrude into the private tents, as alleged by the Nawab.1 Mr. Watts told him that the Nawab was still asleep in his zenana.2 As a matter of fact, the Nawab was not sleeping, he simply remained inside, and purposely refused to see Coote.3 The latter with pistols in his hands for personal security went to the Durbar tent, and waited for some time. The Nawab, however, did not come out.4 Coote then went away leaving an officer to inform the Nawab about his visit, and apologise on his behalf for having come at an early hour.⁵ This incident the Nawab characteristically described as a pre-meditated insult. He charged Coote with violent trespass into his private tents, and sent a highly exaggerated account of the affair to Mr. Vansittart. Coote did not go near the zenana, nor did he behave indecently. He did not carry cocked pistols, and did not leave troops at the zenana as alleged by the Nawab.7 The affair might have been overlooked as due to clear misunderstanding, but the Nawab used it 8 as a convenient pretext for humiliating Coote, and securing the latter's recall. Mir Qāsim was determined that Coote must leave Patna. and he magnified the incident in such a way 9 that Mr. Vansittart was perfectly convinced of Coote's guilt.10 He formally protested against his improper behaviour without giving any consideration to the special circumstances which had obliged Coote to visit the Nawab's camp in an unusual manner, and even wrote apologetically to the Nawab expressing his abhorrence of Coote's action. 11 The Nawab further complained of Coote's interference with his administrative affairs.12

¹ Ibid. ² Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 604; Siyar, p. 706.

³ Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 318.

⁴ Coote's Diary, 17th June, 1761. Reference in Professor Dodwell's 'Dupleix and Clive', p. 209.

⁵ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 604. Siyar, p. 706.

⁶ Siyar, p. 706. 7 Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁸ Siyar, p. 706. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 604.

⁹ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 9. 10 Vans. I, pp. 234-35.

¹¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 322.

¹² Vans. I, 213. Coote defends his conduct with cogent reasons. Vide his letter, Vans. I, pp. 246-249.

The Select Committee decided that both Coote and Carnac should leave Bihar. They were recalled accordingly.¹ Coote left Patna early in July, but meanwhile he had compelled ² the unwilling Nawab to proclaim Shah Alam as Emperor. Mīr Qāsim was now free to revenge himself on Ramnarayan who was left without any supporter after the departure of Carnac and Coote. The Nawab had recently offered ³ a bribe of seven lakhs and a half of rupees to Coote, if he would surrender Ramnarayan to him, but Coote had refused to betray the latter, now the Nawab was relieved that the Naib had lost all his friends and partisans.

In vain did Ramnarayan ask for permission to leave the country ⁴ and he wrote to Shuja-ud-daulah also soliciting his help.⁵ There was no escape, however, from the Nawab's clutches! He had already been formally dismissed from his office in June by the Nawab with the concurrence of the Select Committee.⁶ Mr. Vansittart, however, interceded on behalf of the ex-Naib, ⁷ and even requested the Nawab to re-instate him, if his accounts were found satisfactory, ⁸ but he made it clear that in case Ramnarayan failed to pay the dues, he might be dealt with in any manner the Nawab should choose! ⁹ This was giving a free hand to the Nawab, and marked a complete reversal of the policy pursued by Clive.

Rajballabh who had been recently deputed to audit Ramnarayan's accounts ¹⁰ was appointed Naib in place of the latter with the approval of the Governor ¹¹ on the 1st of August. ¹² The

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 26th June, 1761.

² Ibid., 29th June, 1761.

³ First Report. Coote's evidence, p. 166.

⁴ Beng. Sel. Com., 12th July, 1761.

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., Vol. 1761, p. 328.

⁶ Beng. Sel. Com., 18th June, 1761.

⁷ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 309, p. 153.

⁸ Ibid., No. 322, p. 159.

⁹ Ibid., No. 350, p. 175.

¹⁰ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 43.

¹¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 350, p. 175.

¹² Third Report, 1773, p. 328 (vide Mr. McGuire's letter).

new 'Naib' had always been a jealous rival of Ramnarayan, and had tried to displace him. It is highly significant therefore that he was appointed by the Nawab to check the accounts of his predecessor. Not only did he satisfy the Nawab by reporting against Ramnarayan, but also requested Carnac to procure him the 'Niabat' of Patna, and even offered him a bribe of Rs. 50,000. Carnac rightly rebuked him, for this insolence. Mr. Vansittart was more complaisant to him, and recommended him to the Nawab for the Naib's office. 2

Ramnarayan failed to submit all his papers even by the end of August. He was then subjected to a severe crossexamination in the Central Revenue office in regard to his accounts, and those of his clerks who had been reported to have absconded at his instance were arrested by the Nawab's men with all their records and books.3 Numerous discrepancies were found in the accounts.4 The Nawab then immediately confiscated Ramnarayan's entire property, and seized all that he could secure even from the servants and dependents of the latter.⁵ Mr. Vansittart did not object to this, and ultimately directed Mr. Hay to deliver Ramnarayan into the Nawab's hands.6 After having plundered him, and all his associates, Mīr Qāsim put them into prison 7 where they remained till their subsequent massacre. The Select Committee had piously hoped that the Nawab would not go to the length of attacking the life, or honour of Ramnarayan,8 how little the members knew yet of the Nawab's ferocity and vengeance! The signal punishment of Ramnarayan was a significant demonstration of the successful assertion by the Nawab of his complete independence which he had so long eagerly coveted.

¹ Beng. Sel. Com., 29th June, 1761. (Carnac's letter.)

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 352, p. 176.

³ Siyar, p. 707. (Lucknow Text.)

⁴ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.), V, p. 605.

⁵ Ibid. and Siyar, p. 707. (Lucknow Text.)

⁶ Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 362, pp. 182-3.

⁷ Muzaffar-Namah, p. 320 (MS.); Siyar, p. 707. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, M.S., p. 774.

⁸ Beng. Sel. Com., 26th June, 1761.

A survey of the contemporary evidence in regard to Ram narayan makes it quite clear that the latter could not satisfactorily account for his late administration, as he had been a lax administrator. The Nawab, however, used this as a pretext for ruining one whom he dreaded as a powerful protege of the Company's officers. Ramnarayan committed the greatest blunder in completely alienating the Nawab's sympathy by placing too much reliance on his friendship with Carnac and Coote who were really helpless against the decision of the Select Committee. The Nawab's demand of the Naib's accounts according to the latter's original agreement 1 with Mir Jafar was manifestly unjust! The devastation of the country owing to the campaigns of the Shahzadah, the open disaffection of numerous Zemindars, the maintenance of a large army to cope with the invasions, and the unrealised balance from the Zemindars were some of the factors which should have been considered while adjusting Ramnarayan's accounts. Besides, the latter agreed to pay in lieu of his arrears 50 lakhs of rupees.2 The Nawab was not satisfied till he confiscated his whole property, and placed him in confinement. It is impossible to defend this vindictive punishment meted out to Ramnarayan. It may be conceded that Mr. Vansittart was not strictly bound to protect 3 a subordinate of the Nawab, if he failed to discharge his duty, but it cannot be forgotten that Ramnarayan held a position which was not exactly similar to that of an ordinary functionary of the Nawab's government, and that he had been induced to offer allegiance to the late Nawab on condition that the Company would safeguard his person and honour.4 Besides, it is strange that in spite of his payment of the aforesaid sum, he was not restored to his office, nor was he allowed to leave the country even after the confiscation of his whole property. Mr. Vansittart committed a regrettable mistake in acquiescing in his imprisonment

¹ For details vide Beng. Sel. Com., 17th May, 1761.

² Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 378, pp. 192-3. Third Report. Appendix I, p. 330 (Letter from Mr. Hay, 7th September, 1761).

³ Robert Grant defends the attitude of the Governor. Vide his ⁴ Sketch', pp. 203-4.

⁴ Bengal Sel. Com., 24th January, 4th February, and 18th February, 1758.

His own defence is weak, and unconvincing. He wrote, 'I supported Ramnarayan until it became a dispute whether he should be accountable to the Nawab for the revenues of the province, or not'. He does not explain why he did not object to the vindictive punishment of Ramnarayan after the confiscation of his entire property. It was practically betraying him in spite of the repeated pledges that had been made in the past.

The Nawab's stay at Patna is of great importance in the history of his short rule. He got rid of the Shahzadah, prevented a close alliance between him and the Company, secured the recall of Carnac and Coote, ruined Ramnarayan and his associates, established his complete control over Patna, and finally freed himself from the control of the Company's officials. In achieving his object, he showed remarkable tact, foresight, and finesse, and his shrewd diplomacy certainly proved him more than a match for the well-meaning Governor.

¹ Vansittart's 'Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock', p. 71.

V.—The Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

It is a matter of gratification to find that at long last, Folk-lore and Tradition which is really a most fascinating field of study is beginning to receive in India some recognition from serious students of History. It is now included among the subjects of investigation and discussion by the Indian Science Congress and the Oriental Conference and it has been included as a subject of research and discussion by the Bombay Historical Congress which held its first annual meeting in December last.

The collection of folk-lore material, particularly folk-traditions and folk-customs and folk-rites, has not hitherto been altogether neglected in India. But the task of systematising, sifting and analysing them yet remains to be undertaken. The Purānas and the two great Epics of India, particularly the Mahābhārata, are undoubtedly rich store-houses of ancient Indian tradition. A few later mediæval Smskrit writings also deal with folk-tales and folk-traditions. In our own days, some educated Indians in different Provinces of this continent have also turned their attention to this interesting study, and, as a result, a few collections of folk-tales and fairy-tales, dear to the heart of our children, have been published in some of our vernacular literatures. Besides collections of Indian Folk-lore by European writers like Crooke, Enthoven, Bompas, Bödding, and Mrs. Rafy, a few Indian writers have also published in the English language short collections of Indian folk-tales and accounts of certain Indian folk-customs and folk-beliefs. Such are the book on 'Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials' by the late Mr. Gupte, a book on 'Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts' by Professor Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukherji of Allahabad, 'Folk-tales of Orissa' by Mr. Godavaris Misra and another book of the same name by Mr. Upendra Nath Dutta Gupta and the pioneer book of this class in English in India-'The Folk-tales of Bengal' by Revd. Lal Bihari Dey. A cultured Bengali lady Shovanā Devi, has also

brought out three small collections of *Hindu Folk-lore* in the English language, entitled respectively—'Oriental Pearls', 'Indian Nature Myths', and 'Indian Fables and Folk-lore'.

Although some amount of folk-lore material has thus been collected and published, a good deal has, through the neglect of centuries, been irretrievably lost and forgotten. Yet fortunately, a vast mass of folk-lore material,—traditional stories and ballads, sayings and superstitions, beliefs and customs,—are still preserved in folk-memory and folk-practice and are waiting to be recorded before they suffer from detrition and decay.

Folk-lore materials abound everywhere in India. In fact, like Molière's hero who was all his life talking prose without knowing it, the bulk of our people may be said to live, move and have their being in an atmosphere of folk-lore without being conscious of it. Folk-rites bulk large in the ceremonies attending a Hindu's birth and childhood, adolescence and youth, marriage, disease and death. Folk-customs, folk-beliefs and folk-observances haunt us at every step of our journey in life. They appear in every grade of society. They are found not only among the folk or masses but among the classes as well, not only among the 'lower' Hindu castes and aboriginal tribes but also among our 'higher' castes and communities—Hindu and Muhammadan, Christian and Zoroastrian.

Thus, when in the Konkan and in Bengal, people find good or bad omens in sneezing according to the time of sneezing and the position of the person who sneezes, or when a knife is placed under the bed of a parturient woman in order that the mother and child may not be attacked by a mischievous spirit, or when a woman in child-bed is not allowed to see the face of her husband nor he of her, the people are following folk-custom.

Similarly when in Bengal, Bihār and Orissā, people take care on rising in the morning to avoid seeing the face or uttering the name of a miserly person or a particularly unlucky person or a childless person, or when in the morning if they see anyone rubbing only one eye they ask him to rub both eyes, or when

¹ Crooke, Religion and Folk-lore in Northern India, p. 373.

² Ibid., p. 293.

they avoid seeing their faces in a broken mirror or eating salt left in another's plate, or shaving on the day of the week on which they were born, or jumping over a sleeping person or attending a call of nature with their faces to the sun or with wooden shoes on, or, while starting on a journey, they avoid seeing an empty water-vessel or eating plantains or meeting a barber or washerman or a oilman (kalu), or when in the evening they happen to look at the sky and see only one star there they do not take away their eyes until they see another, or, in some places. three more stars,—they are following folk-custom.

Again, when at a Pārsi wedding in Bombay, the priests throw rice on the heads of the pair, and the wedding invitations are given by sending round rice dyed with turmeric³ or when, on a lower level of culture, at a Dhodhia wedding in Bombay a man blows a horn, probably to scare evil spirits, and rubs the bodies of the marrying couple from head to foot with grains of rice,4 or when Māhārs in Khandesh wave a cocoanut or a piece of bread round the groom's head,4 or when in Gujarat a man takes seven cotton threads to a place where owls are hooting, and there strips himself naked and ties a knot in the threads at every hoot and fastens the threads round the right arm of a patient suffering from fever in order to cure him,4—we see instances of folk-customs. The Pārsi custom of wrapping a sacred sheet (sudra) round the body of a dead cock or parrot and winding a sacred thread round it and carefully burying it, and a Pārsi's abstinence from killing or eating a cock after it has begun to crow at day-break, the various precautions taken to ward off the influence of the evil eye from a child while dressing him and decking him with ornaments, such as making a spot on the cheeks or near the neck with a black pigment or collyrium, the attention paid by various communities in the different Provinces in India to auspicious and inauspicious omens while going on a journey or transacting business or entering upon important undertakings,—these are among the countless traditional folk-customs and folk-observances current in India. It would be superfluous to multiply instances.

³ Ibid., p. 373.

⁴ Enthoven, Folk-lore of Bombay, p. 229.

Instances of folk-songs, folk-sayings, folk-traditions, folk-rites and folk-beliefs abound on all sides of us,—in our homes, in the lanes and streets and in the market-place, in the gardens, the fields, and the waters.

Collections of Indian Folk-lore, so far published, do not yet appear to have attracted the attention of many serious students in India. The average educated man yet regards them with amused toleration, if not contempt, or patronises them as affording amusement to the children or at best as furnishing entertaining diversion once in a way in their own hours of relaxation from serious work.

This indifference of educated Indians to ancient tradition and folk-lore, is gradually infecting even the half-educated or meducated masses, and much of our interesting folk-lore is disappearing altogether, or suffering from degradation, attenuation or transformation beyond recognition either through transference to new sets of objects or through amalgamation with other practices and beliefs.

For a scientific study of our folk-lore it is, in the first place, essential that before this process of degradation, decay, transformation and detrition proceeds further and plays havoc among much of our existing folk-lore, no time should be lost to secure as accurate and complete records as possible of such folk-lore material as are still extant. In the second place, it will be essential for the scientific study of Indian Folk-lore to systematize and classify such folk-lore material as may be collected from different areas in the country. The next task of the folk-lorist will be to analyse each item of a folk-story or folk-rite or folk-custom or folk-belief into its component elements,—radicals as well as accessories,—and trace the life-history of each item of folk-lore with a view to restore, so far as possible, its original form and visualize it in its original setting.

A careful analysis will reveal the important fact that different sets of the folk-lore of a people are the products of different levels of culture; and the further fact that even the same folk-ritual or folk-tale may be made up of inconsistent elements which can only be understood as survivals from

different stages of intellectual culture. A few may have been arrested in their development while they were the customs or beliefs of the community in question in their savage past, some may have been arrested in their growth when the community had passed beyond savagery and reached what is called the barbaric level of cultural development, and some when they formed part of the national custom or belief of the people in their more civilized stage but came to be cast off as useless by the more progressive sections of the community and clung to only by the conservative women-folk and other non-progressive sections of the people or preserved in particular localities only.

By way of illustration, I may refer briefly to the folk-rites in the marriage customs of the higher castes of Bengali Hindus. The first thing that strikes the student is that side by side with the religious rites and ceremonies of an advanced type enjoined by the Hindu Śāstras and conducted by the family priests of the bride and bridegroom, there is another class of parallel rites enjoined by tradition and conducted by married The Śāstric rites include prayers, offerings and oblations to the gods and ancestor-spirits, and vows solemnly pronounced by the bridegroom himself and by the bride's father or other guardian who gives away the bride in the presence of the assembled friends, relatives and men of the community, besides certain symbolic rites such as joining the hands of the couple, their walking together seven paces and circumambulating the sacred Homa fire with the ends of their upper garments knotted together, and so forth. As the Śāstric ceremonies are considered by the community to be essential for the future wellbeing of the wedded couple, so too are the folk-observances regarded by the women-folk (at least the unenlightened amongst them) as necessary to secure good luck and avoid ill-luck to the wedded couple. I shall not here attempt a full account of these female-folk-rites of a Bengal Hindu marriage as observed in different parts of Bengal, but shall content myself with merely mentioning the main features of those folk-rites as observed among some higher caste Hindus in the districts of Khulna and Twenty-four Parganas in Bengal.

These folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage consist of over a dozen different ceremonies of which I shall enumerate the principal ones without describing them in detail. They are all performed by married women and are as follow:—

(1) Gātra-haridrā or ceremonially anointing the bride and the bridegroom with turmeric paste at their respective houses on an auspicious day shortly before the day of marriage, the process of anointing being repeated every day till the day of wedding. (This corresponds to some extent to the Ubtān or āptan ceremony of Bihāri Hindus, though the Bihāri custom of matkor or digging earth from kūr-khet or Kumāri-kṣhetra is unknown in Bengal).

(2) $Adhib\bar{a}s$ or inauguration ceremony consisting of invocation of divine blessings, or rather the attraction of 'luck' through contact with the good 'mana' and kindly offices of well-dressed married ladies beloved of their husbands, and through ceremonial contact with such auspicious objects as rice (both husked and unhusked), tender grass-shoot $(d\bar{u}rb\bar{a})$, sandalwood, vermilion, myrobalan, curds, honey, ghee (clarified butter), white mustard seeds, flowers, etc.

(3) Jal-sādhā or Jal-sawā, consisting of the ceremonial drawing of water by married women who are happy in their married life, for the benedictory bathing of the marrying couple and for some other ceremonial uses at the wedding.

(4) Dadhi-mangal, in which, at early dawn of the wedding day, a portion of the rice, left over out of the rice used for the ābbhudayik śrāddha or oblations to ancestor-spirits and boiled by a woman whose husband is alive, is mixed with curds (dahi), sweets, etc., and is ceremonially eaten or rather tasted by the bridegroom at his own house and by the bride at her parents' house. In some communities parched rice (chirā) instead of bhāt is used for the purpose and five married women eat it in company with the bride or bridegroom as the case may be. From the bride's house five married women go with an iron knife and a new earthen vessel to a tank and 'cut the water', as it is called, that is to say, draw a rectangle over the surface of the water with the knife and dip their earthen vessel three times, face upwards, into the rectangular area thus marked out, and fills the vessel

with water. This water is known as 'Sōhāg-jal' or 'Love-water'. In the afternoon, after the ābbhudayik śrāddha or offering of oblations to the manes of deceased ancestors by the bride's father or other male relative, the bride wears a red-bordered sāri-cloth and sits down in a room with a grain-measure (kūnkey, or small cane-cup) in hand and, from the vessel of 'sōhāg'-water placed before her, goes on filling the cup with water and pouring the water back again into the vessel. She repeats the process again and again, and each time that she does so she mutters by turns a wish to be blessed with the affections of her husband and her husband's parents and brothers and sisters, respectively, thus:—

- 'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Swāmīr sōhāg!' (Love! Love! May I have my husband's Love!);
- 'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! śāśūrīr (mother-in-law's) Sōhāg!'
- 'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! śwasurer (father-in-law's) Sōhāg!'
- ' Sōhāg! Sōhāg! nōnader (husband's sister's) Sōhāg!'
- ' $S\bar{o}h\bar{a}g$! $S\bar{o}h\bar{a}g$! devarer (husband's younger brother's) $S\bar{o}h\bar{a}g$!', and so on by turns. With this magic $s\bar{o}h\bar{a}g$ -jal the family-barber washes the feet of the bridegroom before the wedding ceremonies begin.
- (5) Bhār nāmāno and Hāi-āmlā bātā.—In the forenoon of the wedding day, the bridegroom in his own house and the bride at her father's, are each seated on a painted wooden seat (pinri), and three married ladies sit down in front of the bride or bridegroom as the case may be, and two other married ladies cover up with a cloth the heads of the four ladies thus seated. Seated in this way and covered over with a cloth, one of the three ladies pounds some āmlā or myrobalan fruit, and each of the three ladies mixes a little spittle from her mouth with this pounded myrobalan. The myrobalan paste thus magnetised with the spittle of ladies beloved of their husbands is placed upon a tray or a flat bamboo-basket on which are arranged various kinds of grains and certain other auspicious or 'mana'possessing articles. The cloth is then taken off their heads and the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, stands up and a raw cotton thread dyed in turmeric is placed loosely round his or her head and moved by the three ladies downward from the

head to the feet three times; each time the other two ladies ask them, 'What are you doing?' They reply, 'We are taking down the burden $(bh\bar{a}r)$ off so-and-so' (naming the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be). This turmeric-dyed thread is then tied round the left wrist of the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, with some tender grass-shoots $(d\bar{u}rb\bar{a})$ attached to it.

- (6) Jātrā or ceremonies at starting to fetch the bride, when the bridegroom is provided with an iron (but now in some cases silver) knife or nut-cracker, and on being asked by his mother, 'Where are you going?' answers, 'I am going to fetch a handmaid for you'. (The iron knife is evidently meant to scare away evil spirits.)
- (7) Strī-āchār proper, of which the main feature is the Baran or ceremonial circumambulation of the bridegroom at the bride's house by the bride's mother and a number of married women, one carrying the baran dālā or a flat bamboo-basket containing various auspicious or 'mana'-possessing articles, one an ornamented phallic symbol called Akh made of rice-flour fashioned in the shape of a cone and ornamented with red and yellow colours, another carrying a pot of benedictory water with the symbolic figure of a deity drawn upon the outer surface of the pot, a fourth carrying a pot of water charmed with loveincantations, a fifth an earthen pot with a lighted lamp inside, a sixth carrying upon a brass-plate an ornamented symbol of the goddess of Fortune (Laksmi) called Siri or Sri, a seventh carrying the tray containing a variety of grains besides the hāi-āmlā mentioned in (5) above, and a few other ladies carrying other auspicious ingredients, and the mother-in-law carrying a flat bamboo-basket containing twenty-one lighted wicks arranged over twenty-one shells of the dhūtūrā fruit.
- (8) $S\bar{a}t$ - $p\bar{a}k$ or ceremonially carrying or leading the bride round the bridegroom seven times.
- (9) Sindūr-dān or ceremonial anointing of bride and bride-groom with vermilion.
- (10) Angthi-hārāno or concealing the bridal rings of bride and bridegroom by turns inside the mud formed by water soaking in a hole made in the ground at the spot where the bride-

groom and bride have their ceremonial bath on the morning after the actual marriage ceremony, and each attempting to find out the other's ring.

(11) Kanakānjali or the ceremonial handing over of some paddy by the bride to her mother by way of leaving her parent's 'luck' behind her and going to try her own luck in her husband's house.

When we attempt to classify the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, we find that some are obviously meant to symbolise and cement the marriage-tie, some appear to be intended, on the principle of sympathetic magic, to make the union happy, prosperous and fruitful; some appear to have been intended to ward off supernatural evil influences and illluck from the wedded couple, some are of the nature of lovecharms, and some appear to be of a religious nature. We further find that not only have different groups of these folkcustoms different origins but they likewise belong to different levels of culture. Thus, an undoubted instance of survival of or borrowing from 'savage' culture is the folk-custom, still found in some Bengali Hindu communities, of soaking a rag in the bride's urine and, when dried up, rolling it up into a thick wick which is saturated with mustard oil and lighted in a large earthen cup fed with mustard seeds and waved in front of the bridegroom's palanquin or car on his arrival at the gate of the bride's place for the wedding. This savage custom, now fallen into disuse in many places, would appear to have originated with a double object, namely, that of scaring away evil spirits and also that of operating as a love-charm.

On a somewhat higher level of culture stands the female folk-custom called 'sōhāg-jhārā' which, too, is still in vogue in some Bengali Hindu communities. This curious custom is as follows:—

Five well-dressed women whose husbands are living and who are particularly happy in their married life wear each at the posteriors a thick cloth below the waist over their sārī-cloth and each by turns sits down three times on a new basket filled to the brim with sun-dried paddy or unhusked rice and marked on its outer side with two conventional human figures painted

with vermilion diluted in ghee or clarified butter. Each time while sitting down on the basket of paddy, the lady says:—

'Sōhāg! Sōhāg! Swāmīr sōhāg jherey dilām,' i.e.—
'Love! Love! I communicate a husband's love (through this paddy)'. The five ladies then thresh the paddy, and besmear it with turmeric; and the rice thus magnetized with the 'good luck' of wives well-beloved of their husbands, is the only rice used in the marriage ritual.

The religious or quasi-religious folk-rites of $str\bar{i}$ - $\bar{a}ch\bar{a}r$ will be found to stand on a much higher level of culture than the rest and to have a different origin.

The original purpose of most of these folk-rites and ceremonies of a Bengali Hindu marriage is however no longer known to the ladies who practise them, and all that they can say is that they observe them because their forbears did so before them and that any omission to do so may bring ill-luck to the married couple.

Some of these folk-rites which appear to be anomalous and irrational when found in advanced communities and are no longer intelligible to their civilized performers, become intelligible only when we view them side by side with analogous rites and ceremonies of more primitive communities for whom they have sufficient meaning and purpose, as they are in perfect accord with their manners and ideas.

It is through such comparative study alone that we can see the primitive basis of such practices and their underlying beliefs. Thus, when in Chōṭā-Nāgpur, we see the relatives of a Mūṇḍā or Orāon bride, with the avowed object of scaring away evil spirits and the 'evil eye', flourishing swords outside the screen within which the sīndūr-dān (vermilion-anointing) ceremony of a marriage is taking place, we come to understand the original purpose of the Bengali custom which requires a bridegroom to carry in his hands a knife or a nut-cracker which is obviously the present-day substitute for a sword. Similarly when we see two elderly Mūṇḍā women, one carrying an unsheathed sword and another a bow and arrow, accompanying four maidens who draw water in pitchers for use in the marriage

rites, and passing the weapons over their shoulders so as to touch the pitchers and thereby protect the water from the evil attentions of wicked spirits or the evil eye, we come to appreciate the original object behind the Bengali folk-custom of 'cutting with a $d\bar{a}$ ' or vegetable-cutter the water known as 'Sōhāg-jal' which is drawn from a tank after the 'Dadhimangal' ceremony at dawn on the wedding day for magical purposes in a Bengali Hindu marriage. When we see the bridegroom and bride in a Munda marriage touching each other's neck with a bit of rag tinged respectively with his or her own blood, and by way of symbolic repetition of the same rite of exchange of blood, smear each other on the forehead with sindur or redlead, we perhaps see the significance of the sindur-dan rite which forms an essential feature of the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu wedding, though it does not appear to form any part of the Śāstric ritual. The only application of blood to the forehead of the bridegroom in the folk-ritual of a Bengali Hindu marriage now survives in the custom which requires an elder sister of the Bengali bridegroom to prick her own little finger with a thorn of the bael (Aegle marmalos) tree and mark the forehead of the bridegroom with the blood thus drawn. The curious explanation now given for this practice is that in case the bride tells the bridegroom that she is afraid of going to his house as she apprehends that his sisters may harm her through their witch-craft, the bridegroom will point to the blood-mark on her forehead and tell her that she need have no fears as he has killed his sisters and marked his forehead with their blood. This may be either an instance of degradation or attenuation of an ancient custom or its transformation by transference to a new set of objects, or it may be an instance of borrowing in the past on the part of Bengali Hindus of a savage custom from the ruder indigenes of their country. The original primitive custom of mixing the blood still survives in the Nahchhōr ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage, which consists of drawing a little blood from the fingers of bride and bridegroom and mixing them together.

The similarities noticed above between some of the folkrites of a Bengal Hindu marriage and the analogous rites of a Muṇḍā marriage,⁵ do not necessarily point to their Muṇḍā origin. True, the existence of ruder elements in the culture of a civilized people points to the existence of a ruder race or races who originated them. But these rude originators of such customs might very well have been their own forefathers at a former and ruder stage of their culture rather than some other race, whether indigenous or not, with whom they came in intimate contact in the past. In fact, with regard to these folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, it may not appear improbable that they were the older and perhaps the only marriage rites of the Bengali people (or rather their dominant racial element) before the Śāstric rites came to be superimposed upon them, relegating these older rites to the custody of the more conservative female-folk.

All Indian folk-customs do not, however, represent survivals of primitive custom and ritual whose natural development has been arrested. There is a quite distinct and distinctive class of folk-rites, folk-customs and folk-stories which appear to have been originally devised by higher civilization to bring higher ideals of religion and morality and social relations home to the minds of the more backward classes of the population.

Just as a certain class of folk-rites and folk-customs connected with a Hindu wedding and their underlying ideas can be explained and understood by a reference to similar customs among our aboriginal tribes and other backward communities, so too the true significance of this other group of folk-rites can only be appreciated by a reference to the highly advanced religious rites and customs enjoined by the Hindu Shāstras. In fact, this class of our strī-āchār rites, like the Vrata ceremonies of Hindu ladies, may be appropriately called the popular and simplified editions of corresponding Śāstric rites and ceremonies. These are meant to express and enhance the Hindu's belief in the spiritual function of marriage. Thus the ceremonies referred to above such as adhibās or ceremonial inauguration of the bridegroom and bride, jal-sādhā or ceremonial drawing of water for the auspicious wedding-rites, baran or ceremonially welcom-

⁵ For an account of the rites and ceremonies of a Munda marriage, see The Munda and Their Country, pp. 444-454.

ing the bridegroom with benedictory gestures and joyous sounds of ululation, the waving of lamps and other auspicious objects. and the pradaksina or ceremonial circumambulation by married ladies round the bridegroom, which form prominent features of the strī-āchār of a Hindu marriage, are all only simplified forms of ceremonies of the adhibās, ghat-ānyan, ārati, and pradaksin ceremonies observed in the worship of the greater Hindu deities. The crowns made of coloured pith and tinsel (the topar of the bridegroom, and the mor or mour of the bride) probably represent the mūkūts or crowns worn by the images of the higher Hindu gods and goddesses. The object of such folk-rites in a Hindu marriage is obviously to sacralise or sanctify the marriage tie in the eyes of the women folk, and to elevate it, in their estimation, from a mere biological and socio-economical relationship to a holy religious sacrament. The wedded couple are honoured even as deities, thus emphasizing the spiritual essence of man and the spiritual function of all human relationships. Such strī-āchār ceremonies would indeed appear to have been originally designed to serve as a system of object-teaching or 'kindergarten,' so to say, by which to impress the sanctity and spiritual ideal of the marriage-relationship upon the women folk and upon the backward Hindu or Hinduised communities to whom the Sastric rites and mantras or formulæ are unintelligible jargon. In this way with the aid of these simple but impressive folk-rites the marriage ritual is charged with a new and deeper meaning for the unenlightened and unprogressive sections of the community.

This latter class of folk-rites would appear to be among the special contributions of Aryan Hindu culture to the cultural development of the Indian masses. These $str\bar{\imath}$ -āchār rites, like the Vrata ceremonies and Vrata-Kathās of Hindu females, constitute a powerful civilizing force. They are the outcome of an effective popular system of religious and moral education wisely devised by the religious teachers and social leaders of ancient Hindusthān. And one is tempted to imagine some enlightened Hindu ladies of ancient India, if not devising, at least helping in the growth of this class of $Str\bar{\imath}$ -āchār rites. It is probably with reference to these, among other, āchāras or customs that it is

laid down in Hindu religious books that $\overline{A}ch\overline{a}ra$ or customary rites, Mantras or religious formulæ and invocations, and Priti or love are the three essential requisites of a complete or approved (siddha) Hindu marriage.

As may be expected, this class of folk-rites have their analogues in the folk-rites of the Hindus of Bihār, Orissā and some other parts of India thus indicating their common Aryan Hindu origin. Such of the *Strī-āchār* rites as are common to different parts of India may be reasonably assumed to have originated from the same common source.

True, we find that almost identical rites form the essential features of the marriage ceremony of some of our aboriginal tribes, or, in fact, constitute almost the whole of their marriage ceremony. Thus, we find the counterpart of the gātra-haridrā ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the sasāng-gōsō (lit., turmeric-anointing) ceremony of the Mundas, the counterpart of the $Adhib\bar{a}s$ ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the $Ch\bar{o}$ (Hindi Chūmān) ceremony of the Mūndās, in which the couple are touched with such 'luck'-bringing objects as rice, grassblades, bread, etc., the counterpart of the Bengali's 'bhārnāmāno' ceremony in the 'Sutāmtōl' ceremony of the Mūndās, the counterpart of the Bengali's Jātrā ceremony in a part of the Munda's uli-sākhi ceremony in which the Munda bridegroom on being asked by his mother where he is going, replies, 'I am going to bring one who will take care of you and give you rice and vegetables', the counterpart of the Baran ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the $D\bar{a}$ -hirchi and Chūmān ceremonies of a Mūndā marriage, the counterpart of the Sāt-pāk ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the Chāuli-heper ceremony of the Mūndas in which the Mūnda bride is carried on a bamboo basket three times round the bridegroom, the counterpart of the Sindur-dan ceremony of Bengali Hindu women in the sindūri-rākāb ceremony of the Mūṇḍās; the counterpart of the Angthi-hārānō ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the Mūndā custom of $D\bar{u}l$ - $d\bar{a}$ in which after the sindūri-rākāb and Dā-āu rites, while they are being ceremonially bathed, the Munda bride and bridegroom each conceals, for the other to find out, a tiny earthen jug in the mud formed by the water in which they have been ceremonially bathed; and the Kanakānjali ceremony of handing over of paddy by the Bengali bride to her mother by way of leaving her parents' Lakshmī or 'luck' with them, while taking leave of them, has its counterpart in the Mūṇḍā marriage rite of Bābā-heretukām in which the bride while leaving her parents' house throws, without looking back, three handfuls of paddy behind her, over her own head, on to her mother's sāri-cloth—a portion of which she stretches out to receive the paddy.

Again, the Mūndās, like Bihāri Hindus, set up a Māndōa or mud-pulpit for the ceremony of sasāng-gōsō or anointing with vermilion; the Chūmān ceremony of a Mūndā marriage has a closer resemblance to the Bihāri ceremony of the same name than to its Bengali counterpart known as Strī-āchār. The ūli-sākhi ceremony of a Mūndā marriage which has no analogue in Bengali marriage ceremonial is evidently a copy of the Imli-ghōnṭāi ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage. The Mündā custom of seating the bride and bridegroom on a ploughyoke covered over with straw has its parallel not in any Bengali custom but in the Bihāri custom of burying under the māṇdoā or marriage-booth a plough-yoke with some bamboo twigs. The Mundas, it may be noted, appear to have, in the course of their ancient migrations, come in contact with Hindus both of Bengal and of Bihār, and have for ages been living in close contact with Hinduised aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes and 'depressed classes' who have derived part of their present social rites and customs and religious worship from the Hindus of Bengal or Bihār or Orissā or the Central Provinces.

A consideration of the language, manners and customs of the Mūndā-speaking tribes would lead to the inference that they had no distinctive marriage ritual in the past, and that their present-day marriage ceremonial has been borrowed from neighbouring peoples of a higher culture, probably the Hindus of Bengal and of Bihār, not perhaps directly but through some neighbouring Hinduised tribes or 'depressed' Hindu castes who had already adopted them from Bengali or Bihāri Hindus. The Mūndā ordinarily uses the expression 'dō-kiā' or 'kept' to signify 'married'. This would seem to

indicate that 'keeping'—or, in other words, simply 'living together as man and wife'—would, among the Mūndās, amount to marriage, though not at the present day, but in the not distant past. Even at the present day only the mere act of forcibly smearing vermilion on the forehead of a Mūndā woman is taken to constitute marriage with her; and if the woman so dealt with refuses to live with the man who has smeared vermilion on her forehead, but desires to take another husband, she can only be married as a widow in the Sānghā or Sāgāi form, appropriate for a widow.

Whereas the female-folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage constitute in themselves a complete system of marriage ceremonial, the present-day marriage ceremonies of the Mūndās is a hybrid system composed of certain rites which appear to have been adopted directly or indirectly from Bengali Hindus as also other rites probably borrowed directly or indirectly from either Bihāri or Chattisgarhi Hindus or from both.

In a civilized community, too, such as among Bengali Hindus, as we have seen, different customs and beliefs may survive at different stages of arrested development, some having been arrested in their development while they were pure savage customs or beliefs, some when they were at a somewhat higher level than savagery or at what is called the barbaric level, some when they formed part of the national custom or belief (whether originally evolved by the community itself at an earlier stage of their culture or borrowed from other communities) but came in time to be cast off as useless by the more advanced classes and retained only by the women-folk or other conservative and non-progressive sections of the people or preserved only in particular localities.

It is not to be supposed that every primitive or apparently primitive trait of folk-lore found in the midst of advanced culture is an instance of arrested development at an earlier stage of culture. For, it may as well have been borrowed at a later stage of culture through culture-contact, and in time 'crystallised in domestication'.

Thus the ruder elements in the culture of a civilized people may be referred either to an earlier and ruder stage of their own culture, or to intimate cultural contact or actual racial intermixture at some stage of their past history with some other people in a lower level of culture than their own at the time.

This points to the need of comparative and regional study of the folk-lore of different races, peoples and countries. In order to trace the probable origin of an item of folk-lore, the serious student will analyse it into its component elements which he will plot out on a map and thereby determine its focal centre and trace its diffusion to marginal areas. As the folk-lorist knows, discontinuous distribution of a particular item of folk-lore or other cultural trait may lead to the inference of the independent evolution of the same cultural trait at different centres, and among different peoples, or it may be found that what began as a wave of diffusion assumed, in the course of its progress from one area to another, increasingly modified forms under local influences, and continued to develop each on its own line, until, in some instances, these parallel lines perhaps converged once more. Sometimes an item of folk-lore thus modified through varying local influences may be found to combine with other cultural elements and constitute what in anthropological literature is known as a 'culture-complex'. When several unrelated cultural traits thus combine to form a culture-complex and appear in widely separated regions and unconnected peoples it may be reasonably inferred that such a culture-complex has had a common origin and spread through diffusion.

As I have said, investigation into the causes of similarities in the folk-customs, folk-tales and folk-beliefs of different peoples will reveal that these similarities may be variously referred either to community of race or intermixture of races and cultures or to the uniformity and similar working of the human mind on the same level of intellectual development. The task of the folk-lorist becomes still more difficult when he seeks to unravel the tangled origins of the large class of incongruous and inconsistent folk-customs and folk-beliefs surviving from different stages of culture and found among one and the same people. This incongruous combination of divergent elements will be generally found, on analysis, to have arisen from either of three causes.

This combination of inconsistent elements may be due either to the interchange of cultural elements between a comparatively advanced immigrant people and the ruder indigenous population, and the consequent modification or degradation of the original elements, or to the appearance of more than one ethnic wave of immigration into a region originally inhabited by a savage people, or to the survival of the customs and beliefs of an extinct or vanished earlier race in a region subsequently peopled by other races or tribes. Close examination will further reveal that an item of folk-belief or folk-practice may fulfil more or less different functions at different stages of the cultural history of a people.

The function of folk-lore to furnish clues to racial movements in the past makes the science of folk-lore a handmaid to History. But it is what has been termed the 'Pre-history of the human mind' more than the history or pre-history of human migrations which it is the main function of the science of folk-lore to illuminate and elucidate. The chief value of folk-lore lies in the insight that it gives us into the workings of the human mind at a primitive or rather early stage of culture. In the words of the great ethnologist Sir James Frazer, the study of Folk-lore yields "fossils of the human mind" which "illustrate an early stage in the progress of thought from its low beginnings to heights yet unknown".

Although for purposes of analysis and comparative study, different items of a folk-lore will have to be studied separately, our study cannot be complete without viewing them as a whole in their social and economic and psychological setting.

An intensive and comprehensive study of folk-lore will enable us not only to construct a living picture of the folk-life and folk-mind of the past, but will also reveal to us the present folk-life and folk-ways of thinking of the people concerned.

As the influence of popular mind around him—of folk-thought and folk-ideas as expressed in the lore of the folk,—works on the mind of the literary man as well, folk-lore cannot fail to have its influence here and there on his literary productions. And so a study of folk-lore will further prove service-

able in illuminating and elucidating many an obscure or difficult passage in literature.

In his Presidential Address to the Folk-lore Society of London at its annual meeting in 1929, Professor R. M. Dawkins emphasised the value of a knowledge of folk-lore and folkmentality for a correct appreciation of literature in some cases. Said he, "Just as the literary man has an intellectual mileu formed by the books he has read, so he has a social mileu; his mind has been formed by both, and he has derived his ideas and ways of looking at things not only from the books he has read but from the people with whom he has grown up and with whom he has talked. And in this latter way most authors, especially older authors living in a less sophisticated age than our own, have come into contact with folk-lore; and just as the literary critic illustrates his author by a knowledge of his written sources, so there should be a folk-lore critic, able to illustrate him and to clear up hard passages by a knowledge of the folk-lore with which in the world in which he lived the author must have been familiar."6

Professor Dawkins cited instances to show how Folk-lore "elucidates many hard passages in literature and on others casts a welcome flood of light". Folk-lore does this by putting "these allusions in the full light of the popular feeling to which they originally appealed and without a knowledge of which they can never be to us more than bloodless ghosts of what they ought to be, empty like the shades of Homer with no blood in them".

In the same address Professor Dawkins also indicated how to more than one Muse,—to Literature, to Art, and Iconography,—our special studies in folk-lore can be made to render good service.

From Folk-lore I shall now pass on to Tradition which has been rightly combined with Folk-lore as a subject of study by some learned societies in India such as the Bihār and Oṛissā Research Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bombay Historical Society and the Mythic Society of Bangalore.

As Folk-lore is pursued primarily for the light it throws on the pre-history of the human mind, and secondarily on the illumination it sheds on Literature, Art, and History, and even Geography, so Tradition is valued for the light, however faint and dim, that it may shed on the pre-history of human events. Tradition, either oral or recorded in ancient books like the Hindu Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, is based, more or less, on actual events of the distant past. It thus becomes a recognised source of history where contemporary authentic records or other sources are wanting. Tradition, though not always a safe guide, may also sometimes point the way to other possible sources such as forgotten archæological remains. The study and investigation of Tradition, like the study of Folklore, is within the reach of every one, wherever he may be placed and whatever may be his position in life.

An attention to Folk-lore and Folk-tradition and the patient pursuit of clues afforded by them will sometimes lead to important results which will more than compensate the student for all his pains.

It may not, I hope, be considered impertinent if I refer to a concrete instance from my own personal experience. At the risk of being egoistic, I may refer to something like an archæological discovery, on a small scale, to which I was guided by oral tradition and folk-lore.

While engaged in investigations into the history and ethnology of the Mūndās of Chōtā-Nāgpur, I came across a tradition among the Mūndās of an ancient race of 'giants' named by them as Asūrs. They were described to me by my Mūndā informants as having been a pūndi or white people of enormous stature, strength and agility, who could in the course of one night walk a hundred miles with giant strides to attend dances at distant villages and walk back to their own homes before dawn. They are said to have lived in huge brick-palaces, to have been engaged most of their time in smelting copper and iron, and, the tradition goes that they even 'ate iron and blew fire from their mouths'. There is a legend of current among the

⁷ See S. C. Roy, The Mūndas and their Country, Appendix II, pp. XIX-XXXVII.

Mūṇḍās which describes how, pestered by the nuisance of smoke constantly rising up to the skies from the furnaces of these Asūrs, Sing-bōngā or God came down to the earth and, assuming the shape of a boy infected with scabs, took service under an old Mūṇḍā couple from whom the present Mūṇḍā tribe is descended, and by a stratagem got all the Asūr men to burn themselves to death in their own furnaces.

With a view to discover, if possible, what the Mūṇḍā tradition regarding the Asūrs really signified, I excavated and explored some of the reputed Asūr sites. Accounts of my modest explorations and finds were published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1916 and 1917. These sites are marked by building-foundations of very large bricks, profusion of iron slag, and grave-yards with memorial stones and sepulchral stone-slabs of huge dimensions each covering a number of cinerary urns. These urns contained mostly copper and bronze ornaments, copper and bronze beads and stone-beads and tiny pottery of various shapes and sizes, some hand-made and some wheel-made, besides a few other interesting artifacts.

The finds of neoliths, copper-implements, copper-ornaments and copper and bronze-vessels, (but very few iron arrowheads and knives) and cinerary urns containing copper and bronze and neolithic artifacts in these sites pointed to the occurrence in pre-historic Chōṭā-Nāgpur of three stages of material culture succeeding or perhaps over-lapping one another—a neolithic culture, a copper culture or rather a chalco-lithic culture and the beginnings of an early iron culture. And tradition supported by other facts suggests the probability of the scattered remnants of these ancient Asūrs having been either routed or absorbed by the ruder hordes of Mūnḍās who immigrated into the plateau a few centuries before the Christian era.

This is an instance of popular tradition serving, in a humble way, as a clue to guide our steps to archæological finds which, in their turn, may serve to throw some light on the pre-history of the country.

Besides its value as a guide to ancient History and Archæology, Folk-tradition may also prove serviceable as a

help to understand the unrecorded social and agrarian history of a people or country. This function of tradition is important not only to the sociologist and historian but to the legislator and the administrator as well. But, unfortunately, this aspect of tradition does not appear to have hitherto attracted the attention it deserves.

Sometime ago my professional duties as a lawyer led me to devote particular attention to the land-tenures and agrarian history of the Chōtā-Nāgpur plateau. And a study of that history brought home to my mind the importance of a knowledge of the traditions of a people for a proper understanding of their agrarian history and present agrarian situation and an appreciation of their feelings and view-points in the matter. I felt that such a study is essential to enable the administrator and legislator to devise practical solutions of important agrarian problems, and to enable the lawyer, the politician and social worker to afford such help as may be possible to relieve the troubles of the cultivating tenantry and ease the agrarian situation of the country.

Thus, if we turn to the traditions of the Mūṇḍā tribe, we find that some old Mūṇḍās of Chōṭā-Nāgpur still recount the tradition of the ancient migration of the tribe from the Vindhyan valleys and the Kaimur plateau to the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau. Most Mūṇḍā clans still preserve traditions of their later migrations, each clan under its own clan-chief, from the north-western and central parts of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau to their present home in the eastern and southern parts of the present Rānchi District. Numerous traces of their early settlements in the northern and western parts of the plateau, the remains of the characteristic Mūṇḍā burial-grounds, the occurrence of Mūṇḍāri placenames in what is now the Orāon country, and certain other traces unmistakably point to the former Mūṇḍā occupation of those parts of the country and corroborate the Mūṇḍā tradition.

Folk-memory still preserves the traditions of the ancient Mūṇḍā patriarchs under whose guidance and leadership their clansmen cleared the jungles, founded villages and reclaimed lands for cultivation. Tradition tells us how the different

villages founded by different groups of the same clan came to be organised for purposes of mutual support into confederacies known as $P\bar{a}_{r}h\bar{a}_{s}$, each under the leadership of a patriarch who, in the beginning, combined in himself the functions both of the secular as well as the sacerdotal headman. Munda tradition further recounts how, in course of time, an uncommonly gifted and ambitious leader acquired influence and precedence over the other pārhā-heads and got himself acknowledged as the chief of chiefs,—their 'Rājā' or King,—and how for centuries this Rājā was nothing more than a 'leader of the people' and not 'proprietor' of their villages and their lands and all that was above or below them,-all of which then and to some extent even perhaps now or at least until comparatively recent times belonged to the village-communes. Munda tradition has it that this chosen 'king of the people' was in the beginning maintained by the village-communes, first, by presents in the shape of jungle produce such as tender bamboo-shoots, yams and tubers, and later by annual contributions of a few rupees from each village.

This state of things continued for a few centuries and the descendants of the Rājā whom the village-communes had chosen as their leader, remained content with contributions or 'supplies' for his household from the various village-communes, and military aid in time of need, until in the sixteenth century the long arm of the Moghul Emperor at Delhi reached the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau and the Rājā was compelled to pay some tribute to the Imperial coffers.

In the beginning this tribute consisted of only two or three diamonds, as that precious stone was then available in river Koel which rises in and flows through the plateau. Later, cash tribute came to be exacted by the Emperors and this necessitated an increase in the annual contributions made by the different village-communes. Presumably because these contributions were not regularly received, the Rājā's tribute to the Delhi Emperor was frequently in arrears, and detachments had to be frequently sent to the country to realise this tribute, and at length Rājā Durjan Sal, who is said to have been the forty-sixth in descent from the first king, was captured and taken to Delhi

and kept for twelve years in duress in the Gwalior Fort. There he had for his fellow-prisoners a few Hindu Rājās of Northern India. Durjan Sal obtained his release on his undertaking to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 6,000. He returned home about the middle of the seventeenth century with new ideas of a king's position, dignity and pomp. He accordingly secured architects and masons from Northern India to build palatial structures for his residence and court, remains of which may still be seen in a village of the name of Doisā or Doesānagar, about forty miles from the town of Ranchi. In time the Chōṭa-Nāgpur Rājās managed to contract marriage alliances with high-born Rājpūt families, and surrounded themselves with Hindu courtiers, officers and retainers of different castes-Brāhman, Kāyasth, Rājpūt, Rāutia, etc., from Bihār and the Central Provinces. Other Hindu castes such as Ähīrs, Kūmhārs, Nowās and Ghāsis also followed in their train.

These Hindu courtiers, officers and servants had to be remunerated for their services, and the only means the Rājā then possessed was the fixed contribution or supplies which he used to receive from the different village-communes. And accordingly the Rājā made jāgir grants of villages to these alien adventurers. Similar jāgir grants also came to be made to junior members of the Rājā's own family. As an account appended to a Bengal Government Resolution of 1880, says, "It is probable that when he gave away villages in this manner, he meant no more than to relinquish his claim to the supplies in favour of the jāgirdār".

These supplies or contributions alone could not, however, satisfy the greed of the jāgirdārs. And they soon began a ruthless campaign of aggression against the ancient land-system of the country and the proprietary rights of the aboriginal village-communes. The comparatively docile Orāons submitted more readily than the proud and unyielding Mūndās who fought every inch of the ground. The Mūndā country became the scene of constant commotion and frequent disturbances and incessant insurrections.

The most bitter indignation was aroused at the sight of alien middlemen whom the Rājā had let loose over the country

and who spared no species of oppression, force and fraud to reduce the Mūṇḍās from the position of village-proprietors to land-serfs. And some old Mūṇḍāri folk-songs still preserve vivid memories of their sufferings and struggles at this period.

The following folk-song, among others, preserves a vivid memory of the indignation and chagrin felt by the Mūndās of those days at the sight of the hated aliens usurping rights and positions which had until then belonged to the Mūndās themselves. I append a free translation of the song in which the detested aliens of those days were compared to the ravenous crow, the upstart peacock and the ominous owl:—

MŪNDĀ SONG

Notēm tirubāchi sirmām sāngin, Kōkōrōdōjānāji Mañrākinjānā; Notemtirubāchi sirmām sāngin, Kōkōrōdājanāji Rājānjānā! Mārādojānāji mārāngenjānā! Kōkōrōdōjānāji Rājānjānā! Nātu nātu Kāukō Diguārjānā, Mārādōjānāji mārāngenjānā! Disūm disūm kāukō Kōtōārjānā, Nātū nātu kāukō Diguārjānā! Nātu Mūndākō tāiurtānā, Nātū Mūndākō nekelātānā! Disūm Bhuiñhār tāiurtānā, Nātu Mūndākō nekelātānā. Borōtegegākō nekelātānā, Chirigēgākō tāiurtānā!

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Look where thou wilt, O, wherever eye gazes, Up to the sky or below to the earth, [Men of mean blood wilt thou meet in high places]; Owls pose as lords now, the owls of low birth!

⁸ Literally, 'as Mānkis', that is to say, 'as heads of groups of villages'.

Struts the vain peacock in glory of plumage,
Owls pass for lords now, the owls of low birth!
Look how the crow rules as $Digu\bar{a}r^9$ each village,
How proud the peacock stalks o'er the earth!
Now lords it the crow as $Kotwar^9$ far and near,
Now hath each village for $Digu\bar{a}r$ a crow!
Mūṇḍās of villages now tremble with fear,—
They that were lords of the land until now!
Bhūinhārs now quake with forebodings drear,
Mūṇḍās of villages now tremble with fear.
Sullen resentment reigns over the land,
The Mūṇḍās chafe and fret,—an angry band.

In many villages these Jāgirdars and their lessees or Ṭhikā-dārs succeeded in breaking the proprietary rights of the Mūṇḍās and the communal nature of their villages. The contributions or chāndās (literally, subscriptions) formerly paid to each village-headman by individual cultivators to make up the total tribute payable for the whole village to the Mahārājā, came in most villages to be collected direct from each cultivator separately on behalf of the Mahārājā or his grantees. And in utter disregard or forgetfulness of the tradition and history of the origin of these payments they came to be called 'rents', and the incidents of 'rents' attaching to ordinary rent-paying tenancies have since then been sought to be applied to their case. And the result has been chronic agrarian discontent among the aborigines of the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateau for about a century now.

This chronic discontent of the aboriginal population of the Chōtā-Nāgpur plateau which has vented itself now and again in bloody risings and insurrections has been due more to real than to fancied grievances. Some of these grievances have been since removed to some extent by legislation and executive action. But a few others do not appear to have been probed to the root, and the view-point of the aboriginal tenants has not been sufficiently appreciated. And this makes their minds sore and uneasy and keep them in a state of chronic discontent. One

⁹ Diguār and Koţwār are the local names for the village messenger and village watchman.

379

of these sore points is the question of rent. What is called 'rent' in the case of the tenancies of most aboriginal tenants actually originated, as we have seen, in a contribution in the nature of tribute or 'aid' paid by their ancestors to the ancestor of the present superior landlord of the District (the present Mahārājā of Chōṭā-Nāgpur) who was originally their chosen leader in war and peace, and not the lord of their lands.

Tradition has kept alive the memory of the days when the Mūṇḍās were peasant-proprietors owning no landlord but only rendering to their chosen leader and king or 'war-lord' services in war and periodical contributions which crystallized in time into a fixed tribute not liable to enhancement except by consent.

The word 'rent' (from Latin 'reddere', to give back) which literally means 'return' or 'compensation' for the use of lands and tenements belonging to another, is, strictly speaking, rather fallacious and misleading when applied to the payments made by the aboriginal tenants in Chōṭā-Nāgpur, whose ancestors founded the villages they inhabit and reclaimed the lands that formed the nucleus of their present tenancies. The use of the term 'rent' in this connection leads to the erroneous supposition that these lands always belonged to the 'land-lord' and were originally 'leased' by him to the aboriginal tenants. The history of a large proportion of these tenancies will demonstrate the error of this supposition, and the fallacy on which it is based. This misleading use of the term 'rent' in such cases, would appear to deserve Bacon's characterization of 'idola fori' or 'idols of the market-place', that is to say, errors arising from the influence of mere words over our minds. This might also appear to come under the category of Bacon's 'Idola theatri' or errors arising from received systems of thought,-in this case error arising from the Bengal theory of rent as 'a certain proportion of the produce' which is not really applicable to the facts of these tenancies in Chōtā-Nāgpur. Neither history nor equity would appear to justify the application of that theory of rent to the tenancies of these descendants of the original Munda founders of Chöta-Nagpur villages, whether such tenancies have been recorded as Khūntkatti or as Bhuīñhāri or merely as Korkar or even as Rājhās.

The traditions of the people, supported by other evidence, will show that the 'rent' payable by most aboriginal tenants in the Chōtā-Nāgpur plateau is neither 'competition rent' as in England, nor 'produce-proportion rent' as in other parts of India, but stands as a class apart which may be termed 'tribute rent'. It was in origin a substitute for the voluntary payments by way of 'aids' or 'tribute' to their chosen leader or chief, subsequently stabilised into customary payments in cash. It is unfortunate that the significance and incidents of this 'rent' have been overlooked or, at any rate, not sufficiently investigated, discussed or appreciated by jurists and economists, legislators and administrators. And administrators, legislators, Revenue Officers and Judges in Chōṭa-Nāgpūr, who are more familiar with the other two forms of rent, have been misled in the past and are often misled to this day by the analogy of the nature of rents in other parts of India. And, as a consequence, the existing law fails in various important respects to take due account of some of the rights presistently claimed and not very long ago enjoyed by the aboriginal tenants. gradual loss of their ancient rights in land, their long and painful but fruitless struggle to save those rights, their repeated risings and the sufferings thus involved that have made a deep impression and left lasting traces on the tribal mind. Their folk-traditions, folk-narratives and folk-songs have kept alive the memory of the times that were.

Indeed it is these struggles that are remembered by tradition more vividly than events of a remoter past. Popular memory of these events of the last century is embodied in folk-stories, folk-songs and folk-sayings of the Mūṇḍās, and in respect of the more recent movements in the last quarter of the last century and the first quarter of the present century tradition is replaced by the reminiscences of old Mūṇḍās still living.

Their chequered and painful history has given the Mūndās much to remember, and they remember it fairly well. As Professor Myres has pointed out, folk-memory is stimulated by "the disturbance of the statical equilibrium of a people and narcotized by the establishment of a quiet modus vivendi". No

doubt, in these Mūṇḍā traditions many a detail may have been since added and many an embellishment made by popular imagination. But from what we know from contemporary official records of the events in question, there can be no doubt as to the substantial verity of folk-tradition and reliability of folk-memory in these matters.

If sufficient note had been taken and attention paid by administrators and legislators to these traditions and the feelings that lie behind them and are kept alive by them, much of the existing grievances of the poor aborigines might have been more or less removed and their lot might have been considerably improved.

The agrarian history of Chōtā-Nāgpur thus furnishes a striking illustration of the administrative utility and importance of the study of the traditions and folk-lore of a people, and brings forcibly home to us one of the disastrous results of neglecting them. 10

¹⁰ This paper contains and elucidates portions of the Author's Presidential addresses to the Folk-lore sections of the Indian Oriental Conference, January, 1931, and of the Bombay Historical Congress, December, 1931.



MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Note on the Puri Plates of Dharmarāja.

By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

The Puri plates of Dharmarāja deciphered in the foregoing pages by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru contain a good deal of interesting information regarding the Sailodbhava dynasty of Orissa. In the first place it provides us with a new date for the kings of this dynasty. Up to this time the only known dates were G.E. 300 in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśānkarāja and the second in a mutilated form in the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja. The Puri plates of Dharmarāja further provide a synchronism of this king with another named Tivaradeva. In editing this inscription Mr. Satyanaravan Rajaguru has not done full justice to the printed literature on the subject of the Sailodbhavas. The text of the new Puri plates alone prove that the date 512 cannot be referred to the Saka era, apart from considerations of palæography. genealogy provided in the new plates show that Dharmaraja was much later than Mādhavarāja II of the Ganjam plates and therefore as Mādhavarāja II was a contemporary of Śaśānkarāja and was living in 619-20 A.D., Dharmarāja cannot be placed earlier than him. Therefore the date 512 in the new plates cannot be referred to the Saka era.

The genealogy begins with a verse about Pulindasena. This verse which is the third verse in the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman and also in the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja is the second verse in the new Puri plates. In the lineage of Pulindasena was born Raṇabhīta or Araṇabhīta as Mr. Rajaguru reads and his reading gives better meaning. This verse is the same in the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. His son was Sainyabhīta I and the verse introducing him is the same in all three plates. After Sainyabhīta I there is a break, and a verse, to be found in all three plates, states that in the family of Sainyabhīta I was born Yasobhīta I or Ayasobhīta I. His son

was Sainyabhīta II. The Buguda plates then introduce another verse with the name of Madhavavarman (v. 12) which indicates that Sainyabhīta II was a Biruda of Mādhavavarman. The genealogy is further continued by the Parikud and Puri plates according to which Yasobhīta II or Ayasobhīta II was the son of Sainyabhīta II. Both plates agree in making Madhyamarāja I as the son and successor of Yasobhīta II. According to the new Puri plates Dharmarāja was the son of Madhyamarāja I. At this point we must go back to the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśānkarāja. These plates were issued by a subordinate chief named Mādhavarāja II who openly acknowledges the suzerainty of Śaśānkarāja of Bengal. This Mādhavarāja II was a scion of the Sailodbhava family and was the grandson of Mādhavarāja I and the son of Ayaśobhīta. This inscription does not mention Pulindasena of the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. The similarity of the names and the definite mention of the Sailodbhava family proves that this Ayasobhīta must be one of the princes mentioned in the Khurda plates. Two distinct genealogical tables can be prepared from these five charters. The Khurda and the Ganjam plates show that after Sainyabhīta I came Ayasobhīta I and his son was Mādhavarāja. These two genealogies also prove that Mādhavarāja was also a Biruda of Sainyabhīta I, the second genealogical table can be prepared from the Buguda, Parikud and the new Puri plates. In this table there is a gap between Sainyabhīta I and Yasobhīta and Yasobhīta II who was called Ayasobhīta I in my article on the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja. Though the identification is very tempting it is impossible to place the grandson of Mādhavarāja II in the Gupta Year 512, i.e. 831-2 A.D. Sainyabhīta II must therefore be known as Mādhavarāja III and Ayasobhīta II as Ayasobhīta III. There is further reason to assign the date 512 in the new Puri plates to the Gupta era. Dharmarāja has an elder brother named Mādhava or Mādhavarāja III. From him he conquered the kingdom with the help of another king named Tivaradeva in a battle at Phasika.1 This strivara has been rightly identified

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 266.

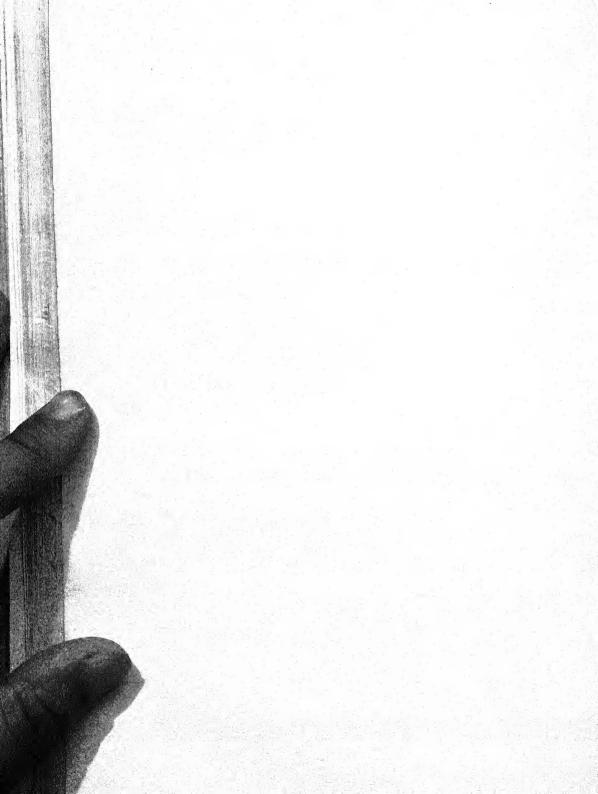
by Mr. Rajaguru with Mahāśivagupta-strīvara, the brother of Chandragupta and the uncle of Harṣagupta of the Somavaṃśī dynasty of Kosala. Most probably Chandragupta is the same king of that name who is mentioned as the contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Govinda III, in the Ganjam plates of his son Amoghavarṣa in the Sanjan plates of his son Amoghavarṣa I.¹ Therefore Dharmarāja cannot belong to the end of the 6th century A.D. and consequently the date 512 cannot be referred to the Śaka era.

At my request Mr. Satyanarayan Rajaguru has sent me a rubbing of the last plate which bears the date and I read the date in the last line as Samvat—10 Vaiśākha Śudi. There is no room in the last line, after the final t of Samvat and the Vai of Vaiśākha for a date in three letters. There is just room enough for the unit and the ten at this place.

Dharmarāja is known from another copperplate which is not the same as this one. It was noted by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, that it is dated Samvat 800 and mentions the battle of Phasika and Tivaradeva.²

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 266.

² Annual report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1921, pp. 15 (No. 3) and 93.



II.—The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja— V.S. 800.

By the late Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A.

I came to learn of the existence of this important inscription from Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., Senior Archæological scholar of the Mayurbhanja State in May or June, 1929. Subsequently, at my request, Mr. Acharya supplied me with the pencil rubbings from which the inscription is edited below. I have not been able to elicit the name of the owner of these plates and their present locality from Mr. Acharya.

The plates are three in number of which the first and the third appear to be inscribed on one side only while the second is inscribed on both sides. The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it supplies a date for the first group of Bhañja kings represented by Śilabhañja, his son Śatrubhañja and his son Raṇabhañja I. Further it supplies a longer genealogy of the kings of this group than that known from any other charter.

The inscription opens with a verse about the praise of Śiva. The opening verse begins Jayati Kusumavana-prāṇa-vikṣobha-dakṣam which is also to be found in the charters of the descendants of Raṇabhañja I.¹ The genealogy given is also fragmentary. It begins with an unknown king named Maṅgalarāja. The donor, Śatrubhañja was the son of Śilabhañja, the grandson of Pallagambhīra and the great-grandson of Yathāsukha, and belonged to the spotless family of the Bhañjas. The object of the charter was the grant of the village of Kontamulla to two Brāhmaṇas named Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇusvāmī and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇasvāmī. The village granted was situated in the Viṣaya of Salvadda. The most important part is the date, which is given in numerical symbols in the last line:

Samvat 8, 100 Kārttika sudi 8.

The symbol used for 8 is a combination of tha and Da and consequently there was a great temptation to read it as 20, but

the symbol for 100, which follows it is unmistakable. Therefore it is not possible to read the first numeral as being ancient above 9 and the same numeral has been used to denote the date of the Pakṣa, i.e. the tithi. I propose to read this numerical symbol as 8. Another inscription bearing the same date was discovered by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, but no facsimile of this inscription has been published as yet. I cannot identify any of these localities mentioned in this inscription. The Dūtaka of this grant was the illustrious Kṛtavarman, who was the master of the five Karaṇas (Pañcha-Karaṇ-ādhikṛta) and was also a Mahāsāmanta. It was composed by the Sāndhivigrahika Buddhadatta and evidently incised by the same person. I edit this important record from the pencil rubbing given to me by Mr. Paramananda Acharya.

TEXT

First Plate (Second Side).

- Jayati kusuma-vaņa-prāņa-vikṣobha-daksham svakiraṇa-pari
- veşy-orjjitya jīrnnendra-lekham tr (tri) bhuvana-bhuvan-āntar-dyota-bhāsva t-pra-
- dīpam kanaka-nikaṣa-tāmvram bibhur-netram Harasya II Śeṣ-āher-iva yaḥ
- phaṇā pravilasat-yad-bhāsurendra-tviṣaḥ praley-āchalaśriṅga-ko
- tyā iva tvayanti yat-pronnetā(ḥ) nrittatopa-vighattita iva
- 6. bhuja rājanti yeṣām-havāṃ-ste rvv-āgha vighaṭinaḥ surat-svarito
- yor-mmayah ¹ pāntu vah I Asti jaya-śrī-nilaya-prakaṭaguṇa grasta-sarvva-
- ripu-garvva-Śrimān-Mangalarājo rājā-nirvvrta-kalikalmaṣaḥ Bhañj-āmala-kula-
- tilakaḥ Śrī-Yathāsukhadevasya pranaptā Śrī-Pallagambhiradevasya pauttraḥ

¹ Read sura-sarit to y-ormmayah.

Second Plate (First Side).

- Śrī Śilabhañjadevāsya sūtaḥ Paramamāheśvaro mātāpitṛ-
- 11. pādānudhyātaḥ Śrī Śatrubhañjadevaḥ kuśalī II Salvadda vi
- 12. şaye rājā-rājānaka-rājaputra-vişayapati-mahāsāmanta-
- Šrī-sāmanta-maha (ā) sāmanta-yathākālādhyāsinaḥ vyavahārinah sa-
- karanān-anyāmś-cha Brāhmana-pura(ro)g-ādi janapadam nivā
- si-janapadānś-cha yath-ārham pūjayati bodhayatyājñāpaya
- ti cha viditam-astu bhavatām-etad-vişaya-sambaddha-Kontamullo
- 17. grāmo-yam chatuḥ sīmn-āghāṭa-paripālitenti Vāsi (sī) sṭha-go
- 18. trābhyām Bhatta-Viṣṇuśvāmi-bhatta-Nārāyaṇasvāmi bhyām mātā-

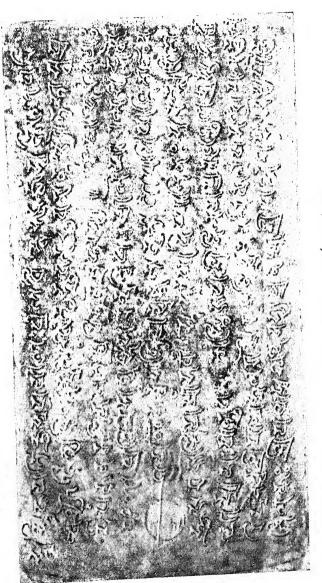
Second Plate (Second Side).

- 19. pīttror-ātmanaś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhaye śa (sa) liladhārā-puraḥsa-
- reņ-ākaratvena pratipādite-smabhiḥ yato-nayorāchandrā
- 21. rkam samupabhujasva na kaiś-chit paripanthinā bhavitavyam -i
- ti 11 Uktam-cha dharma-śāstre Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhih Sagarādi
- 23. bhih yasya yasya yadā bhūmi (s) tasya tasya tadā phalam 11
- 24. Mā bhūd-aphala śaṅkā vaḥ paradatt-eti pārthivāḥ sva-dāna t -phala
- 25. m-ānantyam para-datt-ānupālana 11 Sva-dattam para-dattam-vā yo
- hareta vasundharām sa viştḥāyām kṛmir -bhūtvā pitribhih saha
- pachyate 11 Iti kamala-dal-āmvu-vindu-lolām śrīyamanu

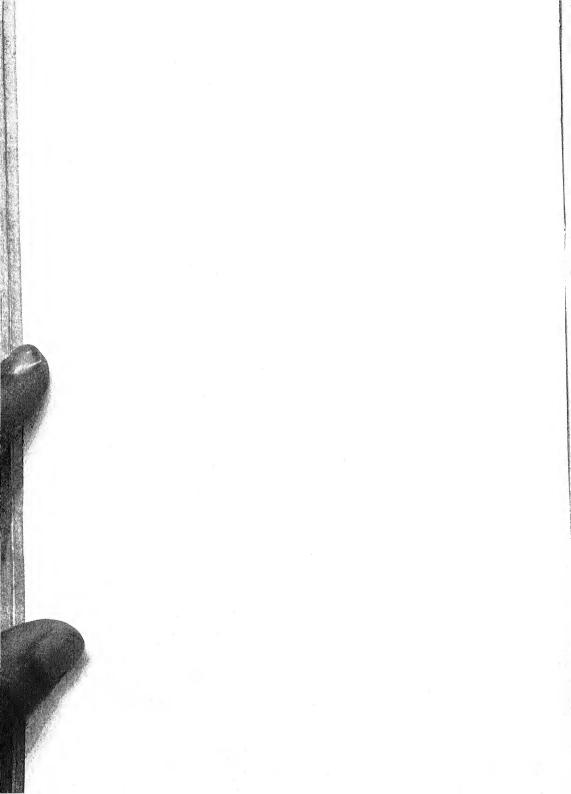
Third Plate (First Side).

- 28. chintya manusya-jīvitaṃ-cha sakalam-idam-udāhṛtaṃhi budhvā na hi
- puruşaih pari(ra)-kirttayo vilopyā(h) 11 Şaştim varşasahasrāni sva
- 30. rge modati bhūmidah Ākṣeptāś-ch-ānumantā cha tāny eva narakam vra
- 31. jet 11 Pañcha-karan-āddhi (dhi) kṛta-Mahāsāmantadūtako-tra Śrī-Kṛitavarmm-a (ā)
- 32. deśā-(t)-likhi ta ñ-cha Sāndhivigrahika-Vuddhadattena Utkīrṇam
- 133. Śrī-Sāmanta-Dhavalākena anusthitam Śesādityanate
 - 34. Samvat 8,100, Kārttika Śudi 8.

¹ Left out in Mr. Banerji's MS.



The Tekkali Plates of Satrubhañja. I Plate II side.



The Tekkali Plates of Satrubhañja. II Plate I side.

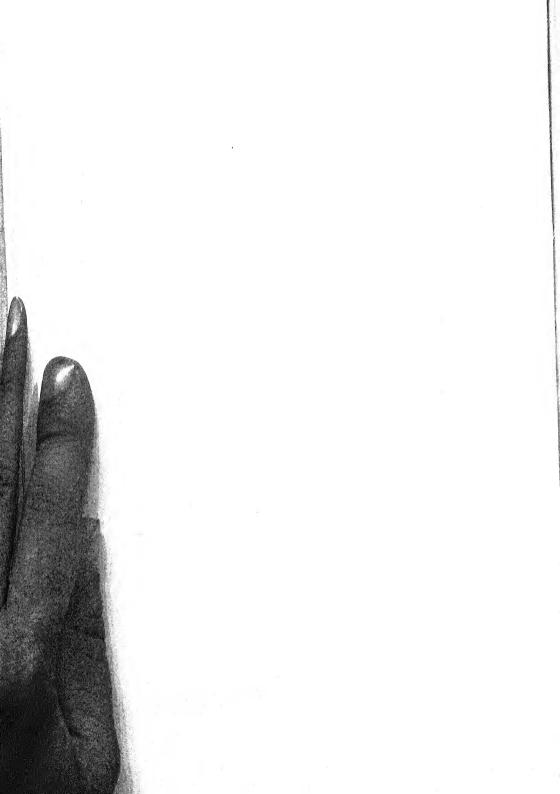
B, O, R. S. 1932.





The Tekkali Plates of Satrubhañja. II Plate II side.

7, B. O. K. J. 1932.



The Tekkali Plates of Satrubhanja. III Plate I side.

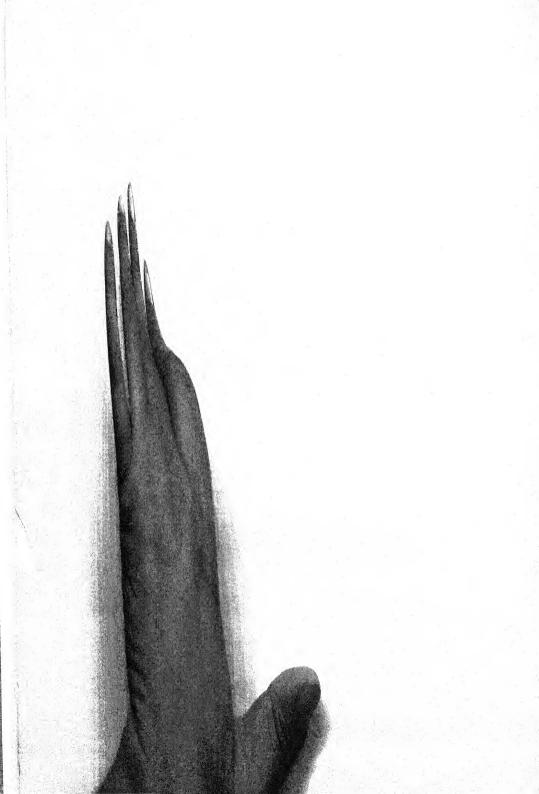
J. B. O. R. J. 1932.



III.- 'Danta,' a weapon.

In this volume of the Journal (p. 34) I expressed the opinion that danta-koți in the last verse of the Mudrā-Rākshasa meant a knife or a similar weapon in the double import when referring to Chandra Gupta II and his rescue of Dhruvā Devī. Professor Janārdana Miśra has traced out that danta was a regular weapon according to the Dhyanas and Śilpaśastras. I would notice below the sculptural evidence on the point.

Gopinatha Rao in his Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, part 1, at p. 56 ff., has summarised the texts on Ganapati in his various aspects. Danta, ankuśa, and pāśa are the weapons he holds in many forms. The representation of danta is to be found on plates X [danta in the front right hand, p. 63], XI, fig. 1 [A.D. 1446] holding śūla, paraśu, danta and pāśa as weapons (p. 64), XII, XIV [bronzes, p. 65], and XV [bronze, p. 66, 12th or 13th century]. It is always held in the first right hand. In the stone figure on plate X (1) and the bronze figure on plate XV (facing p. 58), it is a piercing weapon, straight and pointed, with a knob-handle with projections for the grip. In figure 2 on plate X and figure 2 on plate XV (ivories) the danta is a hooked, sharp-pointed weapon, with a knob-handle; it has the shape of a boar's tusk, but is more pointed. It is a small stabbing weapon; on plate XIII the offensive point-portion is fully covered in the grip. It was thus a short stab-instrument, with a round point, straight or curved. K. P. J.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Publications of the Hindustani Academy, U.P., Allahabad.

This Society, formed under the ægis of the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, has published texts, original contributions, and translations. All the publications are in Hindi. I would like to draw the attention of scholars to some of its important published works.

- 1. Ghāgh aur Bhaḍḍarī, edited with translation in modern Hindī, by Pandit Ramanareśa Tripāthī. The verses of the two authors Ghāgh and Bhaḍḍarī on agriculture and kindred matters, e.g. the monsoon, embody the experience of ages in popular memorial verses. They are laboriously collected and very ably edited by Mr. Tripāthī. The editor has traced the home and descendants of Ghāgh, near Kanauj (Sarāy Ghāgh). Ghāgh was a Kanaujiyā Brahmin (Dube) and a contemporary of Akbar. Bhaḍḍarī belonged to Rajputana; his exact home is not known. Ghāgh was an acute observer. 323 verses of his are published and 81 of Bhaḍḍarī.
- 2. Kavi-rahasya: This is an excellent book, by Dr. Ganganath Jha. This is a manual of 105 pages, bringing into Hindi practically all the theories of Rājašekhara, with a wealth of illustrations both from Sanskrit and Hindi, exhibiting an encyclopædic knowledge and at the same time a poetic temperament. The current Maithila Kāvya literature, commencing from the 16th century, has a sweetness of its own, and from this the author has enriched his treatise with apt quotations. It is practically an original treatise.
- 3. Arab aur Bhārata ke sainbandha ['Intercourse between Arabia and India'] is a translation, in 330 pages of an original work in Urdū by a scholar (Syed Sulaimān Nadbî) who is regarded as the most learned Arabic scholar living in India. Maulānā Nadbī has collected in his Urdū lectures, delivered before the Academy, all the references to India and her civilization in Arab authors. He has offered some original views

on the identification of Arabic descriptions of Indian matters. His work is purely an Eastern production; the author has not repeated what European scholars have said on the subject.

- 4. Social and Economic Condition of Mediæval India: A lecture on this subject by Mr. A. A. Yusuf Ali, has been rendered in Hindī (81 pages) and published by Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary to the Academy, who is the real life-force of this institution. Mr. Yusuf Ali has selected some dramas—the Nāgānanda, Priya-darśikā, Ratnāvalī, and Karpūramañjarī—and the prose works of Bāṇa, the Ajaṇṭā paintings, Yuan Chwang, Alberūnī, Elliot's History, and a few epigraphs, along with some minor works, as his materials. There is very little about economic conditions, but there is a lot about polite society, in the address. Justice is still to be done to the subject. Mr. Yusuf Ali has pointed out the right sources. The style of the original author is entertaining.
- 5. Madhya-kālīna Bhāratîya samskriti, by MM. Gaurī Śankara Hīrāchand Ojhā, is a work on the civilization of Mediæval India in 194 pages, with illustrations on sculpture and architecture. It is a systematic treatise embodying a wide survey. Its style is real Hindī, as opposed to the transliterated style which prevails in Hindī where graduates make an artificial literal translation of technical English terms. Its subject-matter has received an original and thoughtful treatment. Practically no aspect of national life is left out; the author's knowledge of his sources is first-hand.
- 6. Velī Krisana-Rukamaṇī-rī, by Prathirāja Rāthaur, translated in M. Hindī prose by Maharajah Jagmangal Singh, with a commentary; 904 pages. It is a useful text, with exhaustive notes, for the study of the archaic language of Dingal poetry which has been current in Rajputana for the last thousand years. The Rajput nobleman has laid philological students under an obligation by offering his commentary. It is still a living language in Rajputana, though limited to a small circle, while to the outsider it is difficult and strange.

The above notice will show the useful work being done, for which Dr. Tara Chand and the Academy are to be congratulated. [I have omitted works of minor importance.]

The Academy publishes also a Journal called $Hindust\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$ where articles and studies on various literary and scientific subjects appear.

7. Rock-cut Temples around Bombay, by Mr. Kanhaiya lal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., 'Art Critic, "the Bombay Chronicle," published by Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Pocket edition size, 160 pp. (5"×7"), 54 illustrations and 5 plans. Price, Rs. 3.

The author thinks that no one has as yet attempted the interpretation of Indian Art and Architecture. 'In fact. archæological speculations and iconographic tabulations that constitute the bulk of the current literary discussions and expositions of Indian art have rendered the study and interpretation of painting, sculpture and architecture, practically superficial and insignificant, if not superfluous.' After reading this verdict one is tempted to ask 'Has this author read the books of Mr. Havell?' In the book there are vague expressions and vaguer photographs, which convey little of the art that moves the author's enthusiasm. There are more quotations than exposition. Words are so spelt that at times it is difficult to identify them, e.g. Kal Bhairav (p. 53). Opinions like 'The Indian sculptor touches with unfailing reverence . . . the "apsara", abound in the booklet. Whatever is new in the book is unacceptable.

8. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1930, published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands and with the support of the Imperial Government of India (148 pp., large size, 12"×9" with 6 plates), Leyden, 1932 (Kern Institute, Leyden).

This is the fifth issue of this Annual Bibliography issued by Dr. Vogel and a board of editors from the Kern Institute. The bibliography is arranged under different subject-headings and is as full as possible. It surveys publications in all European languages and in Hindi and Bengāli. It publishes also a few illustrations of rare and unpublished art pieces. Its illustrations are very well executed. This number gives some hitherto unpublished sculptures of Nāgārjunīkondā and Sittannavāsal paintings. This last branch of work, though meritorious,

is to be avoided, as it changes the character of the publication from a digest to a journal. A bibliography like this supplies a standin gneed, yearly publications having grown to an unwieldy extent. It deserves the support of scholars. Scholars are invited to send in copies of their contributions.

- 9. The Mahābhārata Text, Fasc. 6, edited by Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. This part closes the Ādi Parvan. It keeps up the high standard which Dr. Sukhthankar set for it when he took over the editorial charge. The illustrations, though fairly good, are really not wanted, and the money might better be spent on the publication of the text itself which is a tremendous charge.
- 10. Rise of the Christian Power in India, 2nd edition, 977 pp., $9\frac{1}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$, Index, pp. 987 to 1011, with 4 maps and 58 plates, by the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., published by Mr. R. Chatterji, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1931. Price Rs. 25.

The author before his death had revised his work thoroughly; the present edition is the result of that revision. It is really the history of British India from the foundation of Calcutta up to the extinction of the East India Company, with an introduction (pp. 17-43) on the struggle of different Christian powers in India. Any text-book on recent or contemporary history will always be a subject of attack and defence. Capt. Cunningham who was on the General Staff in the Sikh War wrote a History of the Sikhs and dealt with the War. On a copy of his first edition which I possess there are bitter remarks in pencil by another officer who claims to derive his knowledge from some officers who had figured in the War and from his own experience. The late Mr. Govind Das of Benares once illustrated to me what history was [in his opinion] by calling two persons who had witnessed a quarrel and the consequential fight, to recapitulate the story; the witnesses who were quite disinterested gave differing versions as to the origin and the initial stage of the fight. I told my friend that the real historical part was the fact of the fight and its result. Major Basu selected a subject like the quarrel-story and the fightproblem of my late friend. There will be room for differing

versions, e.g. at p. 353 where Mill and Wilson differ on the Tanjore succession, though as to the result there cannot be much doubt on any event. Major Basu, however, nowhere allows a controversial point to pass undiscussed and faces his problems with confidence.

The book is a store-house of digested facts and is a monument of labour. It will always be found useful on its period, and is not likely to be superseded for its material and clearness. The book at the same time is an album of historical portraits which have been collected and selected with care and insight. The picture of Śivājī, from the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, is the finest. The publisher's work is of a standard rarely reached before in India.

11. Jainism in North India, 800 B.C. to A.D. 520, by Chiman Lal J. Shah, M.A., published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. (1932), 262 pp., $11'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$, with 26 plates and two maps. Price, Rs. 28-14.

This work forms No. 6 of the series of the Indian Historical Research Institute started by the Rev. Father Heras. The book is by a Jaina gentleman who dates the history of Jainism from 800 B.C. and closes his period of study with the Council of Valabhī (526 A.D.). Territorially it is limited to Aryavarta. author in making his compilation has studied his authorities. But as a Jaina he has not added to our knowledge of the traditional lore of his religion which is more easily available to him than to outside scholars. We are not enlightened much on the doctrinal side of the religion from living sources. apsaras figures on railing pillars opposite p. 256 are wrongly described as 'human figures'. No history of Jainism, to justify that title, should be without an account of the apostolic successions and a consideration of their chronology. Both of these the volume before us lacks. The author has directed his attention to archæological results, which, of course, are useful to the members of his community who have little knowledge of those matters, buried as they are in technical journals. Reference to 'Rājarshi' Devagupta in Jaina literature (p. 213) is an echo of the popular title of Chandragupta II which we find at Sanchi inscribed in his lifetime.

12. The Pallava Genealogy, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., Bombay, Indian Historical Research Institute, 1931.

This is No. 7 of the Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Father Heras has, on the basis of the Pallava inscriptions, attempted to unify the Pallava pedigrees appearing in the inscriptions in a bewildering variety. He has prepared a long chart where he has arranged the names under 45 columns headed by 45 inscriptions individually, and has discussed his identifications in 27 pages (small size). He has prepared a genealogy of 24 descendants from Kālabhartri to Vijaya Nripatunga-varman (chart No. 2). It must be admitted at once that this is a great improvement on all previous attempts, though we have not yet reached the final solution.

Regarding the early kings, there should not be much difficulty, as we have for almost every second generation a contemporary record, and in almost every one of them four previous generations are enumerated as a system. I have constructed the chronology and genealogy of the first seven Pallava rulers in my 'History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.' (under publication), and I have arrived at the same conclusion as Father Heras on the point that the Pallava seat was at first in Andhra-deśa. This capital was Daśanapura which might have been the same as the Dantapura of the Buddhist books. Father Heras has also drawn the right conclusion that the Pallavas reigned only in one line. I, however, disagree with the author on the order and existence of three early ancestors of the Pallavas whom Father Heras has given as

- 1. Kālabhartri (=Bappa).
- 2. Chūta Pallava (=Droṇa).
- 3. Vīrakūrcha (=Aśvatthāman).

His No. 4 and 5 are

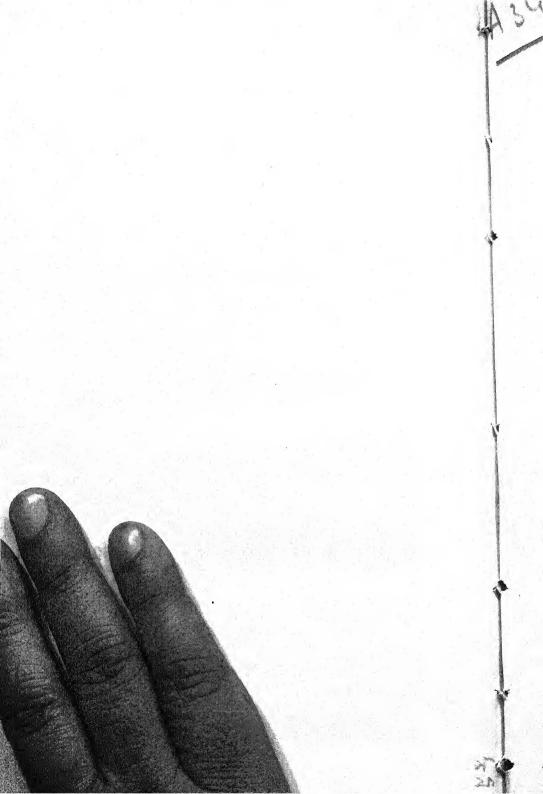
- 4. Skandasishya (=Skandavarman).
- 5. Śivaskandavarman (of E.I., i., p. 1).

Thus he places three names of rulers between Bappa and Sivaskandavarman. But it is certain that 'Bappa' was the immediate predecessor of Sivaskanda. This is proved by the E.I., i, p. 1, which is the second earliest inscription of the family.

The donees of Sivaskandavarman are the same to whom Mahārāia 'Bappa' had given the estate (p. 8) and whose names are fully set out. 'By us also the formerly-given....has been granted to the above-mentioned Brāhmans, chief among whom is Ajisamaja.....' The same donees could not have been alive if Sivaskanda was the fifth from Bappa, as Rev. Heras would make him. The two names of Drong and Aśvatthāman are the names of the early ancestors of the Pallayas who were Bhāradvāja Brahmins. Drona and Aśvatthāman are the heroes of the Mahābhārata, and not third century kings. They were Bhāradvājas and as such early ancestors of the Pallavas. There is no room between Bappa and Śivaskanda for a Skandaśishya-Skandavarman. The Skandaśishya of the Ravakota inscription is identical with Siva Skanda where Siva is only honorific as in the Chutu inscriptions. The Ravakota plate does not say that Skandaśishua was the son of Aśvatthāman. He is only described as the son of a Naga lady. The Skandaśishua of the S.I.I., ii. 501, is Skandavarman II, which is clear from the names of his son and grandson; he is really identical with Vijava Skandavarman. These three early names therefore have to go out of the list. I regard Vîra Kūrcha as the name of 'Bappa' (which means 'father'). Probably Kūrcha ('twigs') is a translation of 'Pallava' which (latter) is found as early as the first inscription of Siva Skandavarman (E. I., VI., 84). The name Vira is repeated in that of the son of Siva Skanda (Viravarman). in accordance with the early custom. The unpublished Chūrā and Guntur plates, taken by Father Heras as two documents, are really one and the same, a fact which I have verified and ascertained from the Government of India Epigraphist.1 The appearance of the word Vishnu with the names has nothing to do with their religion which was Saivism; it is a repetition of the name of the Vishnu vriddha ('Vishnu the elder') who was one of the early Bhāradvājas.

K. P. J.

¹ I have to thank Mr. Dikshit for his courtesy in the matter.



GENERAL INDEX TO J.B.O.R.S., VOLUME XVIII.

A

•				PAGE
A correct chronology of Delhi Histor	y, 1739-1	754		80
A note on 'Old Muslim Inscriptions	at Patna '	•		45
A note on certain Sanskrit Geograph	ical and E	Ethnic term	s	97
A note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'				225
A passage in Samudra Gupta's Inscr	iption at	Allahabad	and	
Gupta Coinage	• •	• •		207
A study of Ancient Indian Numisma	tics			100
Abbreviation of authorities quoted		• •		95
Accounts, Statement of, from April	1931 to	February 1	1932	
of B.O.R.S.				113
Actuals up to February 29th, 1932				114
Amba Kapi and Sir Kap Tradition				- 10
Ancient Indian Numismatics, a stud	y of			100
Anantavarmadeva's son Madhu-Ka	varnnade	va. Chicac	ole	
plates of				272
Annual Report for 1931-32 of the B.O	O.R.S.			110
Annual Account, 1931-32	• •	4.1		242
An Oriya Copperplate of the Sambal	our Distri	ct		214
Anthropological Work, Report of, in	1930-31	•••		51
Arab Authority on the cessation of K		rule		12
Arab narration and Vikramāditya's M	Iantrin			21
Articles, Leading	• •	••	1,	117, 255
_				
	3			
Battle of 78 A.D.				9
Bhārata-Bhūmi aur uske Nivāsi (Indi	a and her	Inhabitant	s)	99
Bhinmals, the Paramâras of				40
Bhūiyās and Chūtiyās of Chōtā-Nāgp	ur		1 7 1	51, 66
Books, Reviews and Notices of			99,	235, 393
	נ			
Certain Sanskrit Geographical and Et	hnic terms	a a note on		97
Chandra-Gupta II (Vikramāditya) and				17
Chandra-Gupta II, Śīkhara Prime Mi			on.	
Political Science				37
Chandra-Gupta Maurya as Vīr Varsha	d	14 mars 1		79
			10.5	

				PAGE
Chicacole Plates of Anantavarr	nadeva's	son	Madhu-	
Kāvārņņadeva	• •	• •	• •	272
Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the Chūṭiyās and the	-	• •	• •	51,66
Chōtā-Nāgpur, Chūṭiyā-Nāgpur and	Nāgpur	• •	• •	53
Chūṭiyā-Nāgpur, Chōṭā-Nāgpur and		• •	• •	53
Chūṭiyās, Bhūiyās and Chōṭā-Nāgpu	r	• •	• •	51, 66
Conclusion		• •		325
Contributions, Miscellaneous	• •			79, 225, 383
Correct Chronology of Delhi History		Ł	• •	80
Corroboration of the Devi Chandrag	uptam	• •	• •	17
	D			
'Danta', a weapon				391
Date of Śakādhipati War		• • •		30
Dates Disputed, evidence for settlin	g them			91
Delhi History, a correct Chronology	of, 1739-1	754		80
Devanāgarī Alphabet, transliteratio	n of			115, 243
Devi-Chandraguptam, Corroboratio	n of			17
Dhruva-Devi				26
Dhruva-Devī, Remarriage of	• •			27
Disaster place of Rāma Gupta				28
	E			
Empire, Harsa's, on the extent of				296
Evidence for settling the disputed l	Dates		••	91
	-			
	\mathbf{F}			
	1.			
Folk-lore, the study of, and tradition	on in India	3	• •	. 353
Forms of Gupta Names	••			. 30
	G			
Giridharpur Pillar Inscription				. 4
Gupta Inscriptions				. 23
Gupta names, forms of	1 T Y 2			90
	H			
Hāl (Hāla Sātavāhana)				. 14
Harsa's Empire, on the extent of			50 da •	. 296
Harsa and the far South	4.7	- 31		. 329
History of Orissa				. 101
Honorary Members of B. and O.R	.S			. 344

				PAGE
Mir Qasim at Patna, 1761		• •		332
Miscellaneous Contributions				79, 225, 383
Muslim Inscriptions, Old, at Patna,	a note o	n		45
· -				
	N			
Nāgpur, Chōtā-Nāgpur, and Chūtiy	ā-Nāgpur	• •	• •	53
Nanda Devi, Skirts of	• •	• •	• •	117, 255
Nanda Devi Massif	• •	• •	• •	117
Notes of the Quarter	• •	• •	• •	104, 240
Note on the Oriya Copperplate of the	he Samba	lpur Distric	t	222
Note on 'Tikina' and 'Khasa'	• •	• •		225
Note on the Puri Plates of Dharma	rāja	• •		383
Notices and Reviews of Books	• •	• •	• •	99, 235, 393
	O			
Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna, a	s note on			45
On the extent of Harşa's Empire				296
Opasa, Vedic, and Kaparda		••		1
Ordinary Members of B. and O.R.S.	••	••	-	246254
Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpu			••	214
Oriya Copperplate of the Sambalpur			••	222
Oriya Copperpiate or the Sambaipun	r mannen	, more on	••	444
	-			
	P			
Patna, a note on Old Muslim Inscri	ptions at			45
Patna, Mir Qāsim at, 1761				332
Persian Invasion of India and Suna	oh dynasi	tay.	•	14
Pindari Glacier and Phurkiyā	gii dynas.	oy		263
Plates, Puri, of Dharmarāja, note or		••	. :	383
Plates, Tekkali, of Satrubhañja—V.		***	• • •	387
Predecessor and Chandra-Gupta II			••	17
Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta	_	1.5		
Political Science	11, Othila	10, 1115 1000		37
Problems, Šaka Sātavāhana			• • -	7
	ld on 6th	Dasamban	1091	
Proceedings of Ordinary Meeting he				104
"		March, 193		106
Proceedings of Assessed Consul Ma		April, 193		240
Proceedings of Annual General Med	eting held	on 17th M	arch,	100
1932		16.	1.59	108
Phurkiyā, route to	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			255
Phurkiyā and Pindari Glacier		1 · · · · · · · ·		263
Puri Plates of Dharmaraja, note or	1	10.00	5 · ·	383
A STATE OF THE STA				

117, 255

201

INDEX TO J.B.O.R.S., VOL. XVIII. 405 PAGE Quarter, Notes of the 104, 240 R Rāma Gupta, identification and succession of 24 Rāma Gupta's disaster place 28 Remarraige of Dhruva-Devi 27 Report of Anthropological Work in 1930-31 51 Report, Annual, for 1931-32 of the B. and O.R.S. 110 Reviews and Notices of Books 99, 235, 393 Rule of Jayadratha's Queen in Sindh . . 13 S Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems 7 Śaka-pati 29 Sakādhipati War, Date of ... 30 Sambalpur District, an Oriya Copperplate of 214 Sambalpur District, an Oriya Copperplate, Note on 222 Samudra Gupta's Inscription at Allahabad and Gupta Coinage 207 Sandanes Sikhara, Prime Minister of Chandra-Gupta II, his book Political Science 37 Sindh, Rule of Jayadratha's Queen 13 Sindh, Kashmirian Rule in 14 Sir Kap and Amba Kapi Tradition 10 Skirts of Nanda Devi 117, 255 Statement of Accounts from April, 1931 to February, 1932 of the B. and O.R.S. 113 Study of Folk-lore and Tradition in India 353 Succession and identification of Rama Gupta 24 Sunagh (Siśunāka) Dynasty and the Persian Invasion of India 14 T Tekkali Plates of Satrubhañja-V.S. 800 387 Text of Giridharpur Pillar Inscription . . 6 The Book on Political Science by Sikhara 37 The Paramaras of Bhinmal 40 The Mahābhārata—Southern Recension 99

The Skirts of Nanda Devi ..

The Yaunas of the Puranas

:00				PAG	Æ
				2	12
The Kākas—their Location				2	55
		• • •			353
	ion in India	B	••	;	387
- 1 That ag of Ontil Works			• •		10
		• •	••	115,	243
Transliteration of the Devanagari	Alphabet	. '••	•• •		
Transliteration of the					
	V				
			. •		1 21
Vedic Opasa and Kaparda	Arab Narr	ation	• •		79
Vedic Opasa and Kaparda Vikramāditya's Mantrin and the 'Vīr Varshal,' Chandra-Gupta Ma	aurya as	••	·X-2		33
Vir Varshal, Chandre		••	• •		
Višākhadatta ···					
	W				es de
					30
War, Sakadhipati, Date of	••	-			
	Y				
Yaunas of the Purāṇas and th	e Last Ku	ishāņa Er	aperor in		201
India	• •	••			
111010					



